

RITUAL, CHIVALRY AND PAGEANTRY: THE COURTS OF ANJOU
ORLEANS AND SAVOY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

By the fifteenth century, the princely court in France was a major political, social and cultural force. Used by the prince as the medium for transmitting his credibility to the outside world, the court was the stage where he employed all the props of magnificence to enhance his prestige and exemplify his power. Here, the dramas of his private life were played out in public, his daily routine, events in themselves, the generational rituals of his family couched in ceremonial and greeted with tournaments and feasts, their funerals transformed into paeans to the dynasty. The concentration of wealth in princely hands, ostentatiously exhibited on such occasions, drew the service of the nobility, forced by a combination of economic and social circumstances, to gravitate around the prince in the quest for offices and pensions. Chivalric ideals and virtues, which grew more rather than less attractive to the aristocracy in this period, were appropriated by the prince, suffusing court spectacle, art and literature, as well as lying at the heart of the secular orders of chivalry. The proximity and tensions of court life imposed new constraints on its members. Within a new and increasing formalisation and stratification, the necessity of displaying status visibly and in a costly fashion, was incumbent on prince and courtier alike.

This general scenario naturally allowed for diversities of style within each court. This thesis concentrates on three late medieval courts, Anjou, Orléans and Savoy, of differing status, wealth and geographical location, within the chronological limits of c.1389-1480. Surviving household accounts, supplemented by chronicle and other documentation, where such exists, are used to examine the use of spectacle and pageantry as a means of consolidating

and extending the authority of each prince, illuminating a variety of ritualistic and spectacular experience for each court. The role of the personality of the prince and his impact on the ambience of his court is discussed, while a study of their chivalric orders offers an opportunity for a closer exploration of each prince's policy for, and relationship with, the most crucial members of his court, the nobility. Alongside the specific aspects of court ceremonial and festival raised in the thesis, is discussed the role of the household, that self-contained unit at the centre of the court, as a weapon of princely magnificence.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis is entirely my own work and that no part of it has been previously published in the form in which it is now presented.

November 1989

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
AST	Archivio di Stato, Torino
ASL	Archivio Storico Lombardo
<u>BEC</u>	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<u>DNF</u>	Dictionnaire de la Noblesse (ed.) Aubert and Lachenaye-Desbois (Paris, 1980)
<u>MDS</u>	Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, Chambéry
<u>MHP</u>	Monumenta Historia Patria
<u>MSI</u>	Miscellanea di Storia Italiana
SHF	Société de l'Histoire de France

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The interplay of political, social and economic forces which contributed to the emergence of the princely court in France, "l'institution qui donne a la vie des XIV et XV siècles son caractère particulier", has been well charted by historians.¹ "La construction progressive du pouvoir du prince" which Guenée considers characteristic of the period, was, it is recognised, aided substantially by the weakness of royal authority at the centre.² By exploiting this weakness, the princes were able to expand the financial and territorial bases of their autonomy, swallowing up lesser courts along the way. Whether accumulated independently, or simply siphoned off from the royal treasury, the prince's wealth, and hence his power, displayed magnificently through the medium of his court, acted as a powerful magnet for a nobility squeezed by the decline in seigneurial revenues and declining profits of war. The fifteenth century which witnessed the apogee of the independent princely court, saw also its decline with the reassertion of royal authority.

At once a political, social and cultural environment, the court assembled a heterogeneous collection of administrators, courtiers, officers, craftsmen, hangers-on, visiting ambassadors and guests, gravitating around the person of the prince. At its core, was the prince's household. "After the deeds and exploits of war which are claims to glory", says Chastellain, "the household is the first thing that strikes the eyes and which it is therefore most necessary to conduct and arrange well".³ When Louis de Savoie visited Philip the Good at Hesdin, Chastellain found it difficult to

believe that he was a duke, "car la compagnie de ly n'estoit pas de grand monstre".⁴ A self-sufficient unit catering to the prince's private and public needs, the household must also reflect his magnificence; hence it was in his interests to attract the service of great noblemen. Household offices, pensions and favours for the noble and his family numbered among the battery of inducements employed by the prince. At court, the nobility and the prince co-existed in a complex relationship of interdependence. Their financial dependence on him was extracted at the price of their independence of action, while for the prince, the court proved a potent means of social control whereby he was able to tame his feudatories into the pursuit of his policies. In the fifteenth century this manipulation required a subtle touch outwith the talents of many.

Yet if pensions and offices to be won at court increasingly underpinned the noble existence, life at court imposed new financial strains. Jean de Saintr 's route to success was paved at each step by investment dressing which caught the eye of the king and advanced his career. Within the confines of the court, where the "greatest social differentiation is manifested in the greatest spatial proximity",⁵ it was imperative that rank and status be made externally manifest. Nuances of behaviour and dress became subtle indicators of status to the visually attuned. In their efforts to maintain the distinction and distinctiveness of their rank, the nobility were only steps behind their prince on whom they modelled their behaviour. In this insular, exclusive and highly competitive environment, where each activity was geared towards his greater comfort or glorification, it was the inescapable obligation of the prince to convey himself in the

grandest style. If he was to reassure his subjects and courtiers of his continued ability to perform as the source of their patronage, and confirm his prestige and power in the eyes of his neighbours and rivals, he must continually emit signals of this via his countless possessions, rich attire, numerous retinue and costly festivals. The luxury which characterised his lifestyle, was not superfluous, but an essential weapon of propaganda. "Après l'âge de l'action on avait en celui de l'être", notes Poirion, "C'est maintenant celui de l'avoir".⁶

It was not enough, however, to possess the accoutrements of wealth and power; these must be displayed. Princely display was a means of making power tangibly evident, especially if that power were fragile. "Pageantry" says Lauro Martines, "serves especially in difficult times, to captivate the senses and cloud the critical faculties".⁷ Pageantry also promoted the illusion of cohesion within a group, such as the members of the order of chivalry, or the procession of a tournament team to the lists. The daily ritual of court life, increasingly formalised during the fifteenth century, also served to encourage and then reinforce cohesion within the court society. The majority, says Bullough, are "more responsive to rituals in which they are at once participants and spectators, which simultaneously provide a powerful sense of identification with an existing or developing social and political order and demand an uncritical acceptance of the aspirations and policies of those in whom authority is vested".⁸ The princes, fully cognisant of the allure of tournaments and festivals of all kinds, were adept manipulators of chivalric images and dynastic symbols in their stage-management.

The political and propagandist functions of court festival have been particularly stressed as regards those of the court of Burgundy. Indeed, though a comprehensive study of chivalric spectacle at this court is lacking, most historians use Burgundy as their frame of reference when discussing late medieval court festivals. In her study of the Banquet of the Pheasant of 1454, Agathe Lafortune-Martel, highlights the political intent of the Burgundian dukes behind such feasts. "Par l'etiquette de cour et par la magnificence des fêtes, des banquets ... les ducs Bourgogne-Valois, essaient de mettre en scène leur majesté ... ils utilisent les divertissements pour promouvoir leurs projets et pour se gagner des alliés".⁹ Burgundy eclipses all other French courts in the fifteenth century by the scale of its ambitions, the extent of its wealth, and the superabundance of the evidence, household accounts, chronicles, eyewitness reports, which survive to illuminate its activities. According to A.R. Myers, the "tendencies of the age found their fullest expression in the Court of Burgundy, which not only in art and in dress, but in household management, set the fashions for Western Europe".¹⁰ Against this background of Burgundian dominance, the chivalric spectacle and pageantry at other courts has been largely understated. For this reason, this thesis seeks to examine and compare the use of spectacle at three courts of diverse status, wealth and geographical location. Two of these, the courts of René d'Anjou (1434-1480) and Louis and Charles d'Orléans (1389-1465), used their royal apanage as the basis of their territorial power and maintained close familial, political and fiscal links with the French throne. The third, Savoy (c.1398-c.1478), if a vassal of the Empire, was for most of this period, influenced politically and culturally by her northern

neighbours. Differences apart, the development of all three courts bears the imprint or influence, either by direct imitation or reaction against it, of the Burgundian court, while they also shared a strong Italian connection. The chronological limitation of this study, c.1389-1480, witnessed a period of dramatic upheaval, social, economic and political, all of which had repercussions on the fortunes of each court. To what extent did each prince use the medium of the court to confront these problems? How, if at all, did they manipulate court ceremonial, spectacle and the chivalric ethos to promote their own policies and prestige? Or has the naked political intent behind princely spectacle, and particularly as regards the secular orders of chivalry, been overdrawn?

CHAPTER TWO

THE COURTS AND THEIR CONTEXT

I

The court of Orléans in the period 1389 to 1465, was not one court but three very different establishments, each projecting very contrasting faces to the outside world. It is sufficient to cast one's eyes over the surviving inventories of the jewels, tapestries, reliquaries, gold and silver plate and illuminated manuscripts accumulated by Louis d'Orléans and his wife Valentine Visconti,¹ or the accounts detailing the almost daily purchase or manufacture of sumptuously decorated items of clothing destined for the ducal family, friends or retinue, to gain some appreciation of the "fin de siècle" brilliance of Louis' court. The lifeblood of this magnificence was the generosity of Charles VI. When Louis' assassination in 1407 cut this umbilical cord, his heir, Charles, was left with an encumbrance of debt, a much depleted domain and household, and a cause for revenge. The years before Agincourt were dominated by the Armagnac-Burgundian struggle which ate up any excess finance and made the cultivation of a court life unviable. After Agincourt, the hiatus of Charles' twentyfive-year imprisonment in England, contrives to render the contrast between the penny-pinching literary salon at Blois and Louis' court at Paris, all the more glaring.

Despite the comparative wealth of the surviving documentation, the personality of Louis d'Orléans and the precise contours of his court, remain intangible. During the Revolution, the archives of the Dukes of Orléans stored at Blois, were either burnt or sold. A quantity of the latter relating to the crown, were brought to

the Royal archives and survive in its successor, the Archives Nationales. The continued existence of the remainder was largely due to the efforts of the Baron de Joursanvault, their diaspora on his death, taking them to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the British Library in London.² While complete accounts are rare, there are any quantity of the dukes' "mandements", "quittances" and the monthly "rouleaux" of expenses, though these can prove surprisingly uninformative.³

The evidence supports the two contemporary and opposing viewpoints of Louis' character, both his chivalry and his cupidity and hunger for power, certainly not mutually exclusive characteristics, it might even be argued, the "sine qua non" of the successful late medieval prince. Christine de Pisan described him as an ideal prince, the "refuge of chivalry". His nobility and chivalry evinced in both his appearance and deportment - "bel est de corps, et a tres doulce et bonne phizonomie, gracieux en ses esbatemens; ses riches et genz abillemens bien luy sieent, bel se contient a cheval; abillemens a feste se scet avoir..⁴ Louis did not make any economies on the luxury of his wardrobe, particularly if destined for public appraisal. With a view to Louis' trip to Lombardy in 1393, his embroiderer Jehan Clarcy made a number of garments for the duke and his brother ("as rich as I can") four of which were embroidered in gold thread, with a "buisson sur la manche de Roches et de parures et de loups courans parmi".⁵ But Louis' actions also spoke of his chivalry - "cestui prince aime les gentilshommes et les preux qui par vaillantise voyagent et s'efforce d'accroistre l'honneur et le nom de France en maintes terres, les ayde du sien, les honneure

et soustient".⁶ Discouraged from participation in the crusades and military adventures which were the vogue of the 1390s, the Barbary, Prussian and Nicopolis campaigns, Louis was their most active financial supporter, and in the case of the latter, one of the chief agitators for the release of the captured French nobles.⁷ Countering de Pisan's favourable portrait is the depiction of Louis' range of vices in the speech of Jean Petit, the Religieux de Saint Denis and other pro-Burgundian chroniclers. More recently Ribéra-Pervillé, if not sharing all their criticisms of his debauchery and sorcery, has condemned his chivalry as a cynical manipulation and means of impressing potential vassals while his career was "soustendue par une ambition enorme et une volonté de puissance exacerbée".⁸ Louis' ambition and avarice are undeniable, though whether in this he was any different, rather than merely more successful in milking the royal finances, than his uncles, is more debatable. From his base in Paris, Louis was able to put pressure on his brother, Charles, for the money to subsidise his magnificent lifestyle, his grandiose schemes in Italy, his empire building on the German frontier. Charles, apparently, could refuse him nothing. Firstly there were gifts in kind to supplement his apanage - for example, the lands confiscated from Louis' erstwhile friend Pierre de Craon, the comté of Angoulême in 1394, that of Périgord in 1400 and the castellanies of Chatillon, Montargis, Courtenay and Crécy in 1404. Payments took a number of forms. There were pensions to Louis and his family, 12000 francs d'or to Charles d'Angoulême in 1405, 4500 francs a month to the duke himself that same year "pour tenir son hostel et son estat".⁹ There

were one-off payments made on each of the duchess' lying-ins;¹⁰ or the 30000 livres given to defray the expenses of Louis' household escorting Isabelle de France to St Omer to meet her husband, Richard II, "ouquel voyage, ledit duc d'Orliens doit tenir grand estat pour l'honneur de ladite reine";¹¹ or the 15000 francs d'or, a contribution towards the "grans fraiz missions et despens qui nous convenait faire pour nous abiller" at the marriage of the same Isabelle to her cousin, Charles, in 1406.¹² Considerably more substantial, was a tax granted by the king to be levied on Orléans, Blois and Valois, towards Louis' acquisition of the duchy of Luxembourg, a tax which incensed their inhabitants - "il y avait longtemps qu'il n'y avait eu un duc; celui a ruiné le pays".¹³ The full extent of Louis' dependency on royal handouts is palpably manifested in the Treasurer General's account for the year 1404-5, the only complete account to survive for Louis' household. Out of a total of 453,159 livres tournois (lt) received by the ducal treasurer Jean Poulain, 158,835 derived from aids granted by the king, a further 250,070 from his pensions and gifts.¹⁴ The scale of this royal financial backing placed Louis in a different league from even his rival John the Fearless, and enabled him to cast wide for his network of support in a manner the courts of Savoy and Anjou, or even that of his own son, could not contemplate.¹⁵ 25400 lt. of this revenue was earmarked for "fief-rentes" or pensions "a foy et hommage" to a range of nobles from the Duke of Lorraine, Adolph de Clèves and Bernard, Marquis of Bade to the east, and Bernard, comte d'Armagnac, to the Scot, David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, many of these also holding the title of honorary chamberlain.¹⁶

Royal finance subsidised the magnificence of Louis' household, just as the royal administration furnished many of his servants with offices.¹⁷ Establishing the precise extent of Louis' household at any given time is not straightforward. There is no happy survival of livery lists and "etrennes" such as we find in profusion for the court of Savoy, detailing the composition of the household from the "hauts fonctionnaires" to the kitchen boys. It is clear that Louis' household was subject to great fluctuations in number. In 1389, on the eve of Isabeau de Bavière's and Valentine Visconti's "entrée" into Paris, and with his household barely established, Louis distributed 527 garments, 43 (at 4 francs) in "satin en graine" to the King his brother, the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, and other "seigneurs fleurs de lis et barons de France", 301 (at 3 francs) to other knights and squires and 177 "pour ses varles de chambre et pour plusieurs autres ses officiers".¹⁸ In 1399, Louis' "menus officiers", that is, the non noble staff of the "panneterie", "echansonnerie", "fruitterie", "fourriere", kitchen and the "clers d'office", numbered 150 alone.¹⁹ The list of those receiving wages for the last fifteen days in December 1403, running from 6 chamberlains downwards, totalled at 105 individuals.²⁰ In 1403 Louis planned an expedition to Lombardy to sort out the Milanese crisis which had erupted on the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti. It was rumoured that he had aspirations of being crowned emperor by Pope Benedict, but his army never got further than the south of France.²¹ Louis retained considerable numbers of extra staff-chamberlains and squires including Louis de Bourbon, Arnault Guillem de Barbazan and Jehan de Garencieres, father and son. A

list of the wages paid to the 400 or so "officiers et autres personnes qui l'accompagnaient dans son voyage es parties de Lombardie et Italie", for a period of fifteen days amounted to 4585 lt.²²

During this same year the number of his chamberlains rose from a minimum of thirty to around fifty. Apart from those receiving the post as an honorary title, the chamberlains provided the core group of Louis' household, furnishing his friends and companions. These were men drawn from all over France rather than predominantly from his domains as was the case for Savoy or Anjou. Jean de Roussay, chamberlain from 1389 to 1407, was an Angevin,²³ Jean de Saquainville, "dit Saquet" sg^r de Blaru, chamberlain from 1389, was a Norman,²⁴ as was Jean de Calleville;²⁵ Raoul de Gaucourt, chamberlain from 1402, was from Picardy,²⁶ and Guillaume de Trie, chamberlain from 1400, from the Vexin.²⁷ Louis' loyalty to his domains was limited, and far less than any of his uncles.

While they had early established residences within their apanages, Louis accumulated property in Paris, eventually owning seven "hôtels" there, most situated within the vicinity of the royal Hôtel St Pol. Even after his apanage of the Touraine had been exchanged for the more financially remunerative one of Orléans in 1392, Louis continued to gravitate around the royal court in Paris. After Charles VI's first mental breakdown in 1392, an "ordonnance" of January 1393 confirmed Louis in the role of "regent-in-waiting". If Louis was to protect his own interests against the conspiracies of Philip the Bold, his presence in Paris was a political necessity. It was a cultural and economic attachment too. The taxes imposed on his domains were all the more galling to their inhabitants as he and his

court injected so little into the local economy in return. After her exile from court in 1396, Valentine Visconti took up residence at Asnières, Blois and Châteauneuf-sur-Loire, but her household was much smaller than her husband's - c.75 individuals in 1397 - and luxury items, as well as some essentials, continued to be purchased in Paris.²⁸

At Paris, Louis' court formed a subsection of the French "cour plenièr", never achieving total separation from his brother's court. Louis' relationship with his brother was symbiotic. In 1405, Ambrogio Migli, Louis' Italian humanist secretary, penned a poem describing the brothers as twins, equal in strength, justice and beauty, and in which he proposed that, as Charles had the kingdom, so Louis should have the Empire, a new Caesar who would bring the return of the Golden Age.²⁹ The two had complementary characters. Charles, more physically inclined, enjoyed the pleasures of the hunt and the joust. Louis inherited the intellectual grasp and literary interests of his father. At various times, he numbered among his household or at his court, the poets Eustache Deschamps "dit Morel",³⁰ Othon de Grandson³¹ and Jean de Garençieres the younger. The association of the humanists Gontier Col and Jean de Montreuil with the duke was to taint them irrevocably, and lead to their massacre as "Armagnacs" by the Burgundians in 1418. Many more of his household were at one time members of the "Cour Amoureuse" instituted at Paris in 1400 - Jean de Roussay, Robert de Boissay, Guillaume Martel and Renaud de Tonneville among others.³² Christine de Pisan, whose son, Jean Castel, was for a time placed in Louis' service, dedicated the Debat de Deux Amans (c.1400) and the Livre de la Prod'hommie et de l'Homme (1405-6) to Louis. Her

Livre des Fais et bonnes meurs du sage Roy Charles V which gives the most glowing contemporary description of the duke, was actually composed in 1404 for his rival Philip the Bold.

The two brothers, close in age, were rarely separated in their youth and early manhood.³³ After the establishment of Louis' own household and Chambre des Comptes, the accounts of the royal "Argenterie" continue to record the fabrication of identical outfits for the king and his brother. In 1388, Charles gave Louis the Hôtel de Bohème in Paris, but the following year, on the arrival of Valentine Visconti from Milan, the couple were installed in the king's residence, the Hotel St Pol, where their first children were born. Many of Louis' officers fulfilled the same functions for the king. Guillaume "dit Braquet" de Braquemont,³⁴ for example, was chamberlain to both brothers, as Gontier Col was secretary to both. Through this "entrée", Louis was able to advance the careers of his own men. Louis' protection raised up Pierre "dit Clignet" de Brebant from humble birth (if we can believe the Religieux de Saint Denis) to the office of Admiral of France in 1405.³⁵ Louis had no wish to set up a rival court to his brother's as he had never felt separate from it and he was prepared to manipulate it to his advantage from the inside. Because of the aggressiveness with which he pursued his aims and published his magnificence so close to the person of the king, to many onlookers he "ressemblait plus a un roi qu'a un premier prince du sang"³⁶ and was only seeking to fulfil his own ambitions to the detriment of the king. This dangerous proximity was a potent factor in his downfall in 1407.

Louis' assassination in November 1407, was the first in a series

of financial crises which debilitated his son in the years up to 1415. In October 1408 Charles VI initiated the search of his registers relating to the lands given to his brother in apanage, which was to lead to the return of the Comté d'Evreux, Château-Thierry, Soissons, Ham and Châtillon-sur-Marne, among others, to the crown.³⁷ Two months later an inventory of Louis' and Valentine's accumulated jewels, silver and gold plate, reliquaries, napery etc., was drawn up with a view to their sale. Several particularly lavish gold items were earmarked for sending to Paris to be smelted down for money.³⁸ It was Charles' first taste of the insolvency which was to plague him for the rest of his life.

There was an almost immediate contraction in the size of the household. While a final payment was made to the 167 "menus officiers" of the late duke on 29 January 1408, including 10 francs to "Robin huppe qui fut mutilé avec le duc", a list of the ducal officers receiving his wages in November 1410 reveals a dramatic reduction, some 88 individuals.³⁹ Amongst these were 17 chamberlains and 35 squires, 10 crossbowmen and 12 archers, the "garde des engins", "hance l'artilleur" and "Jehan lermite armerurier". The household has reverted to its original function as a military retinue. In this period of continued offensive against the Burgundians, offices granted by the duke are for military posts, safeguarding his castles and fortresses, rather than household positions. A number of Louis' officers had, perforce, sought employment elsewhere, in the households of the royal family. Jean de Roussay and his wife Isabelle de Chepoy moved to the queen's service, Jean serving as "grand maitre d'hotel" between 1409 and

1411; Enguerrand de Marconnay and Jean de Saquainville became "maitre d'hotel" and chamberlain to Louis de Guyenne.⁴⁰ Whatever their subsequent careers, however, most of Louis' officers retained their allegiance to the Orléanist, or Armagnac cause, a number joining at Saint-Ouen on 9 October 1411 to sign a declaration asking that Charles VI recognise his nephew's rights.⁴¹

A second financial blow rocked Charles in 1412. On 18 May of that year the Armagnacs had concluded a treaty with Henry IV of England, whereby the latter undertook to provide military aid. The French princes were reconciled by the Peace of Auxerre, but too late to prevent Clarence's invasion of Normandy. The French had to pay him off. Charles was saddled with paying part of the 150,000 escus while his brother Jean d'Angoulême, together with six members of Charles' household, were sent to England as hostages.⁴² Charles VI granted his nephew an aid of 40000 livres parisis⁴³ but Charles' financial problems continued to be compounded by the disastrous effects of war on his domains. In 1413, the inhabitants of Yenville, asked to pay the assessment of 480 livres, protested that they could not because of the losses sustained in the war.⁴⁴

Agincourt cut short the brief respite after the Peace of Pontoise (July-August 1413) and the Peace of Arras (February 1415) when Charles was for the first time able to relax somewhat the stringent economic measures of the previous years and indulge himself in a lifestyle redolent of his father, in the company of his cousin, Louis de Guyenne.⁴⁵ Agincourt left him burdened with two ransoms. From London, on 29 November 1415, Charles ordered the suspension of all wages and pensions, as his ransom necessitated the

gathering together of "la plus grant finance que nous pourrons".⁴⁶

Stopped immediately were the "despenses de bouche comme des hostelages de nos serviteurs" except for the few servants of Jeanne and Marguerite d'Orléans. Once again inventories were to be drawn up of what remained of furnishings and tapestries secreted with various Orleanist servants. During his imprisonment in England, Charles maintained the barebones of a staff, Guillaume Cousinot his Chancellor, Jehan de Refuge his "maitre des requetes", Jehan le Fuzelier "general des finances", Jean de Saveuses childhood friend, chamberlain and Governor of Blois, officers at Blois, Orléans and Paris whose main function was the oversight of his domains with the greatest economy, all surplus finance to be channelled towards the payment of the ransoms of Charles and his brother. England proved a bottomless pit. In 1417, 41000 lt. of gold plate, precious stones and jewels were sent to England towards the ransoms.⁴⁷

To the same end Charles directed his chamberlain Jehan de Rochechouart, in 1427, to draw up an inventory of his tapestries, bedcovers, books and furs and either sell or pawn them.⁴⁸

Charles' freedom in 1440 did not bring an end to his financial plight. If the dowry of Marie de Clèves brought him 100000 saluts, all of this sum went immediately to pay off his debts and reimburse those of his fellow peers who had advanced sums towards his release.⁴⁹

His ambitions of returning to a major political role at the side of his cousin Charles VII, a position which would naturally bring financial benefits in its wake, was immediately jeopardised by his closeness with Philip the Good, whose wife Isabel of Portugal had been a prime mover in the negotiations for his release. Monstrelet reports Charles' initial and enthusiastic reception of all who offered their

services so that he had 300 horses gathered in his train. But the duke delayed visiting his cousin "et bien disoient en leur secret, que plus tost eussent consillie audit duc de aler devers le Roy plus hastivement et a plus privee maisnie qu'il ne fist". Charles VII, learning of the "oaths and alliances" between the two dukes and Charles' reception into the Order of the Golden Fleece "et meismement que desja estoit acompaignie et avoit de son ostel grand nombre de gens des pays dudit duc de Bourgongne, qui autrefois avoient mene guerre au roy de France", refused to see Charles when he came to Paris.⁵⁰ But Charles, no less than his father, was dependent on the royal purse. In 1442 the king eventually granted a pension of 10000 lt (raised to 18000 lt the following year) and on 24 May, an extraordinary aid of 168900 escus towards the payment of his ransom.⁵¹ In 1456 Charles VII granted him 12000 lt. "car sans son bon aide, ne lui seroit possible y fournir et entretenir en estat".⁵² In the meantime, the duke was yet again forced to suspend all payment of wages and pensions (apart from those to Jean d'Angoulême, the c^{te} de Dunois and the comtesse d'Etampes), for the year 1441 "tant pour occasion du paiement de notre Raencon que aussi pour la despense de notre hostel".⁵³

The continuing fragility of Charles' finances, naturally held consequences for his court at Blois. Here, the ambience was low-key and relaxed. Returning from his twenty five year captivity, an old man at nearly 46, Charles was not inclined to indulge himself in the displays of magnificence, expressed via the sumptuous clothing, rich jewellery, numerous retinue etc. characterising his father's lifestyle. The lavish retinue Monstrelet describes was quickly attenuated. At Blois, where the duke established his main residence, his household

in August 1442 numbered only some 70 individuals maintaining 135 horses.⁵⁴ This was not to rise significantly over the successive decades. On 1 July 1449 wages were paid to 70 personnel,⁵⁵ in the period January to March 1456, the households of the duke and duchess and Pierre de Beaujeu, totalled 123 persons.⁵⁶ Doulcet's "Compte de l'Hotel" of 1448-1449 reveals the state of the ducal finances and the comparative frugality of his household. Receipts total at 14887 1 12s 6d.t., expenditure at 20974 1 9s 5d.t. In 1404-5, the amount given in gifts by his father had been 11157 1 10st. In 1448-9, Charles gave out 66s 3d.t.⁵⁷ The surviving account of Andrieu Damien, "argentier", for the year 1455-6 demonstrates a similar economy, only 221 livres spent on gold plate, 325 livres on silk materials.⁵⁸ Having failed to establish a niche for himself on the French political stage, the strength of the Orléanist court at Blois lay in Charles' encouragement of the literary arts. No less than his father's court at Paris, Blois was a literary centre. Charles cultivated men of talent, part time poets who served in his household - Benoit Damien, from Asti, his "argentier" in 1449 and 1455 to 1465,⁵⁹ or Gilles des Ormes, "ecuyer tranchant" rising to "premier maitre d'hotel" under Louis II d'Orléans,⁶⁰ who contributed to Charles' collection. He also received visitors who shared his literary pursuits - René d'Anjou in August 1449 and March 1457,⁶¹ Perrinet Dupin, the Savoyard chronicler, that same year, who presented the duke with a book of "ballades"⁶² and possibly Villon.⁶³ For all its literary fame, Blois, during Charles d'Orléans lifetime, was to remain a peripheral court, hovering at the hemline of the court of Burgundy where Charles sought his support and entertainment.

II

René d'Anjou's heightened awareness of his status as King of Sicily, made no concessions to the debility of his finances. When, during his tour of the major European courts, the Bohemian knight Leo of Rozmítal, called upon the King, then resident at Launay near Saumur, one of his smaller country retreats, René made a point of sending him to Angers to view his treasures. Here, in his northern capital, they were given the obligatory tour of "the finest and best fortified castle in all Christendom... 32 years in the building and ... so organised that every year there is spent on building 32000 crowns". Treated to a sumptuous banquet in René's "chambre de parament", Tetzler, one of the two chroniclers of the expedition, made note of the "splendid side table and much silverware", while "on the King's bed lay tapestry which was valued, it was said, at more than 40000 crowns". Nor was this all. Rozmítal was taken to the famous royal menagerie, his tour ending with a visit to the magnificent royal tomb, built for René and his first wife, Isabelle de Lorraine, in the cathedral of St Maurice.⁶⁴ If the entertainment had been less lavish than they had received at Brussels, the court of Anjou, nevertheless, yielded nothing to its Burgundian counterpart in the splendour of its architectural setting or furbishments. And indeed, the comparison is not otiose, for both René's status as king, and a deep seated rivalry with Burgundy, both dynastic and personal, were dynamics in the shaping of his actions and his court.

It was not the role for which he had originally been destined. Born in 1409, the second son of Louis II d'Anjou and Yolande d'Aragon, René was adopted as heir to the Duchy of Bar by his maternal great-

uncle, Cardinal Louis, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne.⁶⁵ By his marriage to Isabelle, heiress of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, René became in turn its duke in 1431.⁶⁶ When Anthoine de Vaudemont, nephew of Charles de Lorraine, disputed his cousin's succession, he was given financial and military support by Burgundy, who feared the establishment of a power inimical to their interests, in this area. The campaign culminated in the Battle of Bulgnéville (1431), with defeat and capture for René. It was during his imprisonment that, in 1435, the sudden deaths of his brother, Louis III d'Anjou, and Jeanne de Sicile, catapulted René onto a different stage.⁶⁷ Falling heir to the titles of Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence and King of Sicily, he inherited, in addition, the considerable financial burden of the legacy of Angevin pretensions in Italy. The more immediate consequence of René's change of status was the raising of the terms of his ransom by his jailor, Philip the Good. The Milanese ambassador sent to Dijon, commented, "Il [i.e. Philip] sait bien que le Roi René est dans l'impuissance de les payer; mais il veut un gage, et ce gage est le duché de Bar".⁶⁸ In the meantime Isabelle, as regent, was dispatched to Naples, her husband joining her on his liberation in November 1437.

René's return to France in 1442, after the failure of his Italian venture, witnessed his determined entrance onto the stage of French politics at the side of his brother-in-law, Charles VII. It was a role warranted, he believed, by his rank and lineage. Both his father and grandfather, however eager to pursue their own territorial ambitions, had never lost sight of their royal birth, and both played important governmental roles. René's ties to the King were both personal and dynastic - the two

had grown up together, Charles marrying René's sister, Marie. During the 1420s and 1430s, Yolande d'Aragon had proved to be a forceful presence behind the throne, and after her death, René's younger brother, Charles du Maine, and a number of Angevins remained to counsel and advise the king, making René's return to centre stage all the easier. The relationship proved beneficial for both. René nourished a taste for tournaments and spectacles, entertainments of all types, in the King, instrumental in bringing a change of atmosphere to the French court. He provided military aid for the recovery of Normandy and Guyenne, and according to one Milanese ambassador, was responsible for initiating the military reforms of these years ("et e stato quello che ha facto fare quella ordinanza a reductione delle gente d'arme").⁶⁹ Moreover, René's daughter Margaret was the person used to cement the new Anglo-French agreement reached in Tours in 1444. In return, Charles gave military assistance in subduing the revolt of the citizens of Metz, and used his political clout at Chalons to secure an agreement with the Duchess of Burgundy whereby the remainder of René's ransom was written off.⁷⁰ Most fundamental, however, was his support of a renewed campaign in Italy by René. Not entirely disinterested, for there was also the question of Orléanist rights in Asti and French rights in Genoa, he reached an agreement with the Florentines, allied with Sforza, Mantua and the Genoese, which made René, in all but name only, their hired condottiere.⁷¹ Although this second Italian venture was similarly unsuccessful, in 1460 Charles once again stepped into the breach with the grant of an aid amounting to 55000 lt "pour aider audit Seigneur Roy de Sicile a supporter la sumptueuse despense que pour la Recouvrement

du Royaume de Sicile luy convenoit lors porter et soustenir".⁷²

René's relationship with his nephew, Louis XI, was neither so amicable, nor so favourable to his policies. Louis blew hot and cold, manipulating René to his own designs by promises and honours, or threats. During the "Guerre du Bien Public", Jean de Calabre stood with the league, his father technically with the King, but expeditiously trying to remain neutral. This brought René a series of honours designed to appeal to his acute sense of his own dignity - the right to seal his letters in yellow wax, a privilege restricted to Louis himself,⁷³ and admission into Louis' Order of St Michael.⁷⁴ At Tours, Louis entertained the king with jousts, tournaments and mommeries "pour ce quil scavoit que le roy de Sicile les ayment".⁷⁵ He was, however, less willing to entertain René's financial needs in the pursuit of his claim to the Kingdom of Aragon, offering a derisory aid of 30000 francs to cover the costs of Jean de Calabre's expedition and to support the exiled Marguerite d'Anjou.⁷⁶ Relations cooled considerably after René's move to Provence in 1471 and Louis' intrusion into the government of Anjou leading to its seizure in 1475. René's subsequent turning for help to Burgundy only gave Louis further excuses to pressurise his uncle into recognising Louis' seizure of Anjou and led to Provence falling to the crown in 1481 after the death of René's heir, Charles II du Maine.⁷⁷

Only a fraction of the household accounts produced during the 45 years of René's reign, survive to illuminate his court. These cluster in the years 1447 to 1449,⁷⁸ 1451 to January 1454⁷⁹ and 1469 to 1480.⁸⁰ The hiatus between 1454 and 1469 has, perhaps, exaggerated the contrast between the heady 1440s, "l'apogée de sa puissance et de son

influence politique",⁸¹ and the decade of his "retiral" in Provence,⁸² as we know so little of his court in the intervening years. However fractured, they nevertheless reveal a continuity in the court personnel. The majority of the accounts, are "comptes de l'Argenterie" concerning the king's personal expenses, purchases of materials for clothing, gifts, expenditure for "voyages et ambassades" and for construction work and repair of buildings, wages and pensions. Pillaged for their voluminous detail on costume and art history, encouraged by the publication of excerpts by both Arnaud d'Agnel and Lecoy de la Marche,⁸³ those lines of research have culminated in Piponnier's seminal study of costume at the court and Françoise Robin's examination of René's art patronage.⁸⁴ The modern critical approach of both has done a great service in dispelling the mythologies surrounding the man, while proffering a more balanced view of his talents and originality.

As with Savoy and Orléans, the fragmentary nature of the accounts makes a calculation of René's annual revenues extremely difficult. Comparing the expenditure of the Duke of Burgundy with that of René d'Anjou, Piponnier has calculated that whereas in 1447 the former was spending approximately 295200 lt. and the latter, 97680 lt., by 1477, the gulf had widened to circa 2136000 lt as opposed to 117183 lt.⁸⁵ René's desire to pursue a lifestyle consonant with his status as king, the lavish spectacles of the 1440s, the pursuance of military campaigns in Naples, northern Italy and Aragon, the maintenance of a large household and the fulfillment of his artistic interests, placed a great strain on his finances. The legendary René placed the needs of his subjects first, and as such he is described by his biographer Lecoy de la Marche.⁸⁶

For Noel Coulet, however, he was "avant tout guidé par les besoins de son tresor".⁸⁷ While Anjou suffered devastation from the effects of the Anglo-French wars, the brunt of the financial burden fell on Provence. New taxes were levied and the judicial system was reorganised to improve revenues. The Estates of Provence had no comeback as they were not convened between 1442 and 1489.⁸⁸ None of René's financial problems encouraged him to practise economy. The accounts, however, reveal the perpetual juggling of finances. Gold plate was pawned or sold off, though in itself not necessarily an indication of penury, but a means of getting ready cash. Money was borrowed, particularly from the Jews who were protected in Provence. Despite the exhortation to his financial administrators that "nosdits officiers sans estre payez ne serviront de bon courage",⁸⁹ there were constant arrears of wages or pensions. In 1479, Jehan Bidet, the King's "tappicier", received the five years of his wages owing him (172 1 10 st) and two and a half years of his "despense de bouche".⁹⁰ Granted an annual pension of 500 florins in August 1470, Marguerite Cossa, daughter of Jean Cossa, had only received 100 florins by September 1472.⁹¹ On 8 October 1477 René directed payment of 944 1 11 s 6 dt to Philippe de Lenoncourt for the payment of his men and horses during his service with Jean de Calabre in Sicily, 1461-3.⁹² These arrears were tempered by the paternalism expected of a prince - the pension of 60 florins granted to Jehannet des Ursis for services in Catalonia, during which campaign he had lost a thumb on his right hand and could no longer write, "qui a este son principal art",⁹³ or the placing of elderly servants in Angevin abbeys to be "nourry ... chausse et fourny de toutes choses".⁹⁴ Security in old age was perhaps the

greatest benefit of household service.

René leaned heavily on the loyalty of his vassals, servants and adherents. But those who had, perhaps, made the greatest sacrifices, the Neapolitans, were generally well provided for. Nobles such as Jean Cossa, sire de Grimault, prospered in René's household, a member of the Order of the Crescent and Grand Seneschal of Provence. But even into the 1460s and 1470s, still the exiles came seeking support. In September 1465, Vanella Capite of Naples received a pension of 400 florins because she had been forced to flee to Provence leaving all her possessions because of her continued support for the Angevins.⁹⁵ Similar pensions of 200 florins and 500 florins were granted to Anthoine Pagan, a secretary from Naples, in 1466, and Bouffile de Juge, in 1472.⁹⁶

René had recourse to a variety of means of rewarding his servants. For a short period at least, the Order of the Crescent, proved a very visible and high profile reward for the core inner group of his nobility. Promotion to office was another. Jehan Alardeau, secretary in the 1440s, was appointed René's councillor and "Maitre Rationnal" in recompense for his services, "que ce soit exemple a noz aultres serviteurs de bien nous servir pour l'advenir".⁹⁷ In 1466 he was raised to the Bishopric of Marseille. Jehan Huet, René's secretary between 1451 and 1454, was similarly rewarded with the Bishopric of Toulon.⁹⁸ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, César Nostredame, in his Histoire et Chronique de Provence, castigated René for ennobling men who were basely born and therefore not worthy of that honour.⁹⁹ It was a relatively cheap method of rewarding service popular also with Charles d'Orléans, but while the latter bestowed this on his bourgeois administrators, René

was less discriminating. In May 1469, "lettres d'annoblissement" were granted to René de Saint Maurice who had been "baptised in the Christian faith at the cathedral of St Maurice", and to Jehannan Roy d'Aix in March 1476 for "la bonne vie et honneste conversacion dont Il a use des le temps de son jeune aige et que de son pouvoir Il fait et sefforce de faire euvres et faiz nobles et vertueux Mesmement aussi quil a des biens et Richesses conpectamment pour mener bon et suffisant estat comme font les nobles de cestuy notredit pays".¹⁰⁰ The group profiting most from this sign of preferment, however, were René's "valets de chambre". This was a privileged position, bringing the office bearer into the constant companionship of the King. Piponnier has drawn our attention to the frequency of the gifts of clothing to this sector of the household, placing them after the chamberlains and "maitres d'hotel".¹⁰¹ In 1479 Didier Du Han, "valet de garderobe" and "concierge de Gardanne", was ennobled for his part in the wars of Sicily and Aragon in the service of Jean de Calabre.¹⁰² The ennobled Alain Leault, "valet de chambre" and king's barber, was particularly favoured, the beneficiary of constant gifts - the seigneurie of La Brillane in 1462, a house at Angers in 1466, the offices of "maitre et visiteur des pavaiges et barrages" that same year and "contrerolleur du grenier a sel de Lodun" in June 1476.¹⁰³

The royal household itself offered the most major possibilities for advancement and personal profit. René's household was particularly large as befitted his station, although its size must have fluctuated greatly according to his residence. In Anjou René often preferred his residences of Launay, La Menitré, Reculée or Baugé to

Angers or Saumur. These could accommodate only a small personnel - Launay had twelve rooms and one larger hall, La Menitré, 8 rooms and two halls, one chamber reserved for the chamberlains, one for the "maitre d'hotel" and another for the "ecuiers d'ecuierie".¹⁰⁴ In 1453, some 251 individuals received "robes de dueil" for the mourning of Isabelle de Lorraine, of which number, fifteen were chamberlains or "maitres d'hotel" and twenty five were gentlewomen of Isabelle's own household.¹⁰⁶ There was no attenuation of the household after 1470. The list of the members of both René and Jeanne de Laval's households receiving the daily maintenance of two gros two patacs for the months of December 1469 to February 1470, includes 190 named staff ranging from chamberlains to kitchen scullions, and 272 of their servants.¹⁰⁶

As at Savoy, members of the greater noble families were royal councillors, holding the position of chamberlain or "maitre d'hotel", their younger relatives forming the body of squires responsible for the material side of the household. The accounts reveal the ascent of many of these squires up the career ladder. Honorat de Berre, "escuier echanson" in 1447 and between 1451 and 1454, was councillor and "maitre d'hotel" by 1464, becoming chamberlain by 1469 and "Grant Maitre d'Hotel, conseiller et chambellan", with an annual pension of 600 florins, in 1477.¹⁰⁷ Several highflying families, like the Angevin Beauvau, found employment within the household or administration for a number of their members. Bertrand de Beauvau, sire de Précigny, married René's illegitimate daughter Blanche, served as his "Grant Maitre d'Hotel" and President of his Chambre des Comptes.¹⁰⁸ His nephew Louis de Beauvau, was Seneschal

of Anjou, Captain of Angers and "Grant Seneschal de Provence" Governor of Bar and "premier chambellan".¹⁰⁹ His brother Jean, sg^r des Roches, was councillor and chamberlain and Seneschal of Anjou.

René's noble elite bears comparison with that of Savoy. René's territories were as diverse, if more geographically dispersed, as those of the Dukes of Savoy. He was fortunate in that by his campaigns in Lorraine in the 1430s, Italy between 1438 and 1442 and again in 1453-4, he was able to gell a substantially loyal nobility around his person, responsive to his causes. If geographically limited in origin, they, like their Savoyard counterparts, were often significantly cosmopolitan in outlook as a result of their foreign campaigns. This flavour at René's court was enhanced by the influx of foreign musicians, artists and secretaries, the Aragonese secretary Pierre Puig,¹¹⁰ the sculptor Pietro da Milano,¹¹¹ the Flemish artists Coppin Delf and Barthelemy Deick,¹¹² or "Jean l'allemand" goldsmith and nephew of Balthasar Hirtenhaus, René's "Controleur des finances".¹¹³ This cosmopolitan mix of high and low born, if creating a distinctive court ambience and, pace Robin, a unique blend of Flemish and Italian influences in its court art and architecture, was nevertheless, as we shall see, no impediment to the flourishing of predominantly northern chivalric forms of experience - the chivalric order and the tournament.

III

Savoy's rise to prominence in the affairs of fifteenth century Europe was always a surprise rather than a foregone conclusion and provoked one of her historians to comment, "La Savoie a été beaucoup plus qu'elle n'est".¹¹⁴ Throughout the fourteenth century and into the early years of the fifteenth, by a combination of the personalities of the rulers and a doggedly pursued policy of expansion, this vassal state of the Empire ate into the territories on its frontiers until it became too large for its neighbours to ignore. Savoy's geographical position was at once a source of economic strength and political dissension. The acquisition of Piedmont in 1418 was double edged, providing much needed financial security, but also arousing fears of further expansion into Italy among its northern Italian neighbours, and provoking jealousy and rivalry between the duke's Savoyard and Piedmontese subjects. South of the Alps, the dukes were often struggling to assert their authority in the face of strongly held local particularism and franchises. Considered a haven of peace in the early decades of the fifteenth century, the semi-retiral of Amédée VIII in 1434 witnessed the onset of a long stretch of inept government, civil war and minorities.

Political, and increasingly financial, problems did not impede the development of a thriving court culture, recognised for the artistic, literary and musical patronage of its princes. Strongly political and dynastic links with France gave the court a predominantly northern chivalric ambience.¹¹⁵ The counts Amédée VI and VII had been frequent visitors to Paris, consorting with the French princes, purchasing

their "objets d'art", manuscripts, material and culture there. Amédée VIII modelled his court on Burgundy, with his economic centre at Geneva. Only towards the end of the century does the centre of the court's activity slip southwards of the Alps.

The corpus of material available for the study of this court is far more voluminous than for either Orléans or Savoy. The registers of the Treasurers General on which this study has been based, survive in an unbroken line from the early fourteenth century to beyond the medieval period, becoming larger and more cumbersome as the detail they contain grows richer. The dukes' central account, they contain details of gifts, pensions, salaries, liveries, "etrennes", expenditure of the household's movements from castle to castle, payments for its entertainment, to artists, musicians, the expenditure for the ceremonies of birth, marriage and death of the ducal family and household, the expenses given to ambassadors, the costs of defraying the upkeep of visiting ambassadors and nobles, they are in effect, a mine of information.

This surprising wealth of information on all aspects of court life has been pillaged primarily for the period of Savoy's greatest expansion, the glorious chivalric eras of the Green and Red Counts, Amédée VI (1343-83) and Amédée VII (1383-91), culminating in the years of its greatness under Amédée VIII (1391-1451). Both Cognasso and Marie-José have produced a series of biographies concentrating on this formative period, when Savoy was under the greatest French influence. More recently, studies from Italian historians have gone some way to redress the balance and assess the problems and developments of Savoy post-Amédée VIII, e.g. Marini on the Piedmontese struggle for a say in the offices and government proportionate

to their financial contribution, Bouquet on the development of the ducal chapel.¹¹⁶ The period of Amédée VIII, nevertheless, remains pivotal for an understanding of the political development of Savoy as well as the establishment of its court.

Amédée VIII's imposing personality casts a long shadow over the history of the duchy in the fifteenth century. From his assumption of personal rule in 1398, until his semi-retiral to the hermitage at Ripaille in 1434, Amédée resolutely pursued a policy of aggrandizement, engineering the emergence of Savoy from a "comté" whose wealth had been depleted by the grandiose military campaigns of his father, into an alpine state which Olivier de la Marche described as "le plus riche, le plus sur et le plus plantureux de ses voisins".¹¹⁷ His methods contrasted dramatically with the exuberant chivalric militarism of his forebears, Amédée VI and VII, whose escapades translated so well onto the chronicler's page, and singled him out from among his contemporaries. Amédée VIII favoured stealth and patience, the power of money and above all, a quiet and persistent diplomacy. It is nevertheless trite but true to state in the words of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, that "the misfortunes of his neighbours were his great good fortune".¹¹⁸ In the north, the war pitting Armagnacs against Burgundians, enabled Amédée to pursue his own territorial ambitions unimpeded by French princes jealous of his growing authority. When England once more became the enemy, he willingly adopted the mantle of arbiter, laying the groundwork for the Treaty of Arras and accruing considerable prestige thereby.¹¹⁹ To the west, the minority of Louis III d'Anjou permitted him to conform Savoyard rights in Nice.¹²⁰ To the east, he manipulated the crises

shaking the duchy of Milan after the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti (1402) to his own advantage. Playing the roles of arbiter, aggressor and ally by turn, he was able to secure Vercelli and its surrounding territory (1427).¹²¹ The fortuitous failure of the princes of Savoy-Achaye to produce an heir, brought Piedmont back to the main dynastic line in 1418. The acquisition of the Genevois in 1401 had been far more troublesome and costly. The purchase of the rights of Odon de Villars amounted to 45000 francs, those of Mathilde d'Achaye for 70000 florins (1417) and those of Louis III de Chalon 12000 florins plus lands of the comte de Genève in the Dauphiné (1424).¹²²

Amédée's most astute political manoeuvre was to secure the erection of Savoy into a duchy from his feudal superior, the Emperor Sigismond, eager to retain the support of this well placed and important vassal.¹²³ The unprecedented scale of the preparations for the arrival of the Emperor in Chambéry in February 1416, indicate an entirely new concern for magnificence, expressed through spectacle, at the court of Savoy. From December¹⁴¹⁵ to February 1416, workmen were engaged in the preparation of the Emperor's private chambers and reception rooms in the castle; as early as July 1415, the Venetian, Gregorio Bono, was brought from Italy to decorate the chapel; 1046 florins worth of silver plate was bought from Lyon and over 900 escus d'or were spent on lavish gifts for the Emperor and his household; 2100 escus d'or were paid to the Emperor's Chancellor "pour le seel de la lettre du Roy dez Romans du titre de la duchie de savoye", while Sigismond himself was ^{given} gifted 3044 escus.¹²⁴ Amédée's gain from this new title in terms of kudos, should not be underestimated. He himself was acutely aware of his new status and was determined that

it should be impressed on subjects and foreign powers alike. One of his first actions was the commission of a chronicle from Jehan Cabaret d'Oronville. Working between 1417 and 1420, d'Oronville produced a work of dynastic propaganda, couched in the language of romance, eulogising the martial victories and chivalrous characters of the counts of Savoy and establishing the dynasty's illustrious origins in the Saxon Berold, nephew of Otto III.¹²⁵ Recognising the uses of ritual and ceremonial as a means of elevating the prestige of the ducal family, dynastic events were treated as affairs of state, meriting spectacular and most public celebrations. When, on 5 August 1424, Amédée invested his eldest son with the newly created title of Prince of Piedmont, the ceremony, witnessed by English and Burgundian ambassadors, was organised to the letter and with due care and attention paid to the dignity of both duke and prince. The former "en habit ducal" was seated on a dais in the midst of the square at Thoron, the latter, robed "le mieulx que faire sa pourra", escorted to his investiture by four of the leading Savoyard nobility, Gaspard de Montmayeur, Manfroy de Saluces, Humbert de Savoie and the seigneur de Vallusin.¹²⁶ The ceremony was replicated ten years later in November 1434, with similar pomp, in the square at Ripaille, where, in the presence of the nobility and the Three Estates, Louis, c^{te} de Genève, and his brother Philippe, were made Knights of the Collar and Prince of Piedmont and c^{te} de Genève respectively. An event officially marking Amédée's retiral from public affairs, it was orchestrated to confer new lustre on the young Prince of Piedmont and now Lieutenant General of Savoy, in an attempt to make an unpopular transition more palatable.¹²⁷

The fullest expression of Amédée's conception of his own status, and a tribute to his administrative and legislative skills, is the Statuta Sabaudiae, promulgated at Chambéry in 1430.¹²⁸ Informed by a desire to streamline the administration of the diverse territories which made up his domain, and thereby facilitate the smooth running of its financial machinery, the Statuta nevertheless ranged over a wide number of issues including for example the position and dress of Jews and prostitutes, the regulation of games and charivaris. The Statuta's confirmation of the feudal pyramid, with the duke and his family at its apex is most clearly expressed in the sumptuary legislation of Book 5.¹²⁹ Cloth of gold was reserved for the duke and his family, barons and bannerets were restricted to "velours d'argent" or "velours broché".¹³⁰ Outwith the ducal family, jewellery was confined to rings, although pearls could be worn elsewhere on the body. Only the duke could wear ermine. Even within the ducal family, the richest materials and jewels were reserved for the principal feast days of the year. Modesty, restraint and an avoidance of excess was to characterise their costume for the remainder ("omni pomposa superfluitate cessante"), though each should dress appropriate to his or her rank ("dignitatibus titulis et gradibus congruentem").¹³¹ Although partly motivated by economic reasons, the prescriptions of Book 5, which also regulated the funerals, marriages and feasts appropriate to each rank of society, demonstrate the duke's need to preserve distinctions of status and particularly that of his own family from his most powerful vassals. Dubois's chronicle of the powerful De Challant clan from the Val d'Aoste gives numerous examples of the high lifestyle of these feudatories. For instance, when Boniface de Challant returned to Savoy from France,

it was "en estat, non pas de simple escuier, mais de filz de prince", with an escort of 700 horses.¹³² The magnificence of his greater feudatories was both restrained and encouraged by the duke. He could not allow their wealth or lifestyle to cast a shadow over his, yet at the same time, such courtiers further enhanced his own prestige. The distinctions laid down in the Statuta were in fact often transgressed within the ducal household itself, when, as in 1434 on the occasion of Louis' marriage to Anne of Cyprus, a number of the barons were issued material above their station.

Amédée's most effective vehicle for the promotion of his ducal image was the court. A magnificent court was fundamental to counteract feudal "superbia". The incessant military campaigns of the fourteenth century, coupled with the frequency of the household peregrinations, were largely inimical to the creation of a settled court life as opposed to a military "comitiva". Under Amédée VIII and his wife Marie de Bourgogne, the household did not cease to be itinerant, but the movements were restricted to the chateaux bordering Lake Lemans - Ripaille and Thonon. Here the household developed in size and in its internal structure. New layers of preferment were introduced, and a greater specialisation of functions created, to cope with the exigencies of a more ritualised and ceremonial lifestyle which took cognisance of Amédée's new status. With the aid of his cultivated wife Marie, brought up in the highly ritualised court of Burgundy, the household was now regulated along the lines of the French royal household. The most responsible positions, whose holders were drawn from the ranks of the nobility, were the "maitres d'hotel", chamberlains and "ecuyers d'office". Their duties were defined in

the Statuta although the posts themselves had been in existence since the beginning of the century. The Statuta stressed that these officers should be men of integrity, honest and incorruptible, weeding out any of the ducal servants under their authority who were not. The "maitre d'hotel" held the widest remit, responsibility for the provision of the household, oversight of its officers, the reception of visitors, preventing access of unauthorised persons to the duke, everything "ad statum et decorum persone nostre pertinente". This also entailed a moral supervision of the household, punishment and correction and the expulsion of "incorrigibiles superfluosque et inutiles servitores".¹³³ The chamberlains, never as numerous a body as at either the courts of Orléans or Anjou, supervised the ducal jewels, tapestry, precious materials, plate, clothing and chamber servants.¹³⁴ The squirearchy were now divided into "escuiers de cope", "escuiers tranchans", "escuiers de panaterie", "escuiers de cuisine", or "escuiers d'escuierie", the latter responsible for all things "ad statum guerre necessaria".¹³⁵ Many of the duties of chamberlain and squire were shared, such as the monitoring of the cutting up of material and furs for the ducal liveries.¹³⁶ As at the courts of Anjou and Orléans, these positions were often a springboard to further preferment as their duties necessarily entailed close contact with the person of the duke. Amédée de Crescherel from the Tarentaise, one of the ducal squires in 1417, served as "maitre d'hotel" from 1423 to 1449 and was elevated to the Presidency of the Chambre des Comptes.¹³⁷ Claude du Saix, sg^r de Rivoire enjoyed a similar career, squire in 1415, "maitre d'hotel" from 1424 and President of the Chambre des Comptes with a pension of 400 florins d'or in 1431.¹³⁸

Du Saix joined Henri de Colombier, sg^r de Vufflens (chamberlain, captain of Piedmont, 1418) and François de Menthon, dit Chicard ("maitre d'hotel", 1400-4, bailli de Genevois, 1414) in Amédée's retreat at Ripaille.¹³⁹ Nicod de Menthon was representative of one of the most noble families of the Genevois who submitted to Amédée VIII in 1405. A page in 1421, "escuier d'escuerie" in 1427, he was chamberlain in 1429. Held in great favour by the duke, he continued in the service of Louis, becoming governor of Nice in 1445.¹⁴⁰ Household offices, the openings these offered to further preferments, pensions, offices as "baillies", "chatellains", or even ducal lieutenant in Bresse or the Vaud, were increasingly sought by the nobility, as Amédée's pacific policies and canny diplomacy deprived them of their old military activities. They were also the most efficacious means of binding their interests to that of the prince.

If under Amédée VIII, the court was the centre of magnificence and patronage and successful in curbing the independence of his vassals, under his son Louis (1434-5) the court became a centre of intrigue and a source of dissension. Contemporary commentators and modern historians alike, have focussed on the contrast in personality of the two dukes as the key to the problems of the duchy under Louis. The Chronica Latina Sabaudiae compared the steady virtues of the father ("gravitate, maturitate, prudentia et discretione ornatissimus ... in omnibus discretissimus"), with the irresolution of the son ("inconstans, variabilis"), the former widely respected, the latter "neither loved by his subjects nor neighbouring princes".¹⁴¹ For Chastellain too, the contrast was striking. Amédée, "s'estoit monstre sage en gouvernement temporel autant par ung contraire, apres son pere mort [Louis] se monstra de povre effect en tout".¹⁴² On

countless occasions Louis displayed a vacillation which undermined the stability within the state consolidated by his father. The most striking illustration of this occurred on the death of Filippo Maria Visconti in August 1447. Both Dubois and Olivier de la Marche agree that had Louis been more decisive, he could have profited from the ensuing vacuum of power, to become Duke of Milan, for "les Milanais l'avoient en grande amour et crainte". But, "le duc eust peu conseil, confort ne ayde, attendu que sa gentillesse estoit descourdee et dehors du pays la meilleur et plus forte partie".¹⁴³

Louis' own weaknesses apart, Amédée had sown the seed of future discontent by his strong leadership. Noble discontents were pulsing under the surface ready to erupt forth at the first sign of weakness. Two episodes illustrate this. In the Bugey in 1434, Antoine de Sure and Aynard de Cordon ravaged the surrounding countryside, pillaging and holding travellers to ransom. Amédée acted swiftly, ordering the confiscation of their property. De Sure and de Cordon devised a plan to seize the duke, while he was at Pierrehatel for the memorial service of Gaspard de Montmayeur, and sell him to his enemy the count of Clermont. The latter washed his hands off the affair and the two brigands were captured.¹⁴⁴ Amédée's attempt to establish a uniform legislation for all his territories clashed, in 1430, with the determination of the inhabitants of the Val d'Aoste, headed by Boniface and Jacques de Challand, to preserve the customary laws of the country.¹⁴⁵

A major problem for Louis in 1434 on taking over the reigns of power, was that his father had not really relinquished control, as

Dubois noted, "le bon seigneur Amé qui fust esleu en pape ... gouvernoit dessus tous es grosses matieres ... et avoit toutes puissances deca les mons et dela".¹⁴⁶ Amédée's continued interference, and worse, his reversal of his son's decisions, put Louis in an impossible position and undermined his authority in the face of his increasingly fractious nobility. This was most impellingly demonstrated during the affair of Jehan de Compeys. The arrival of Anne and her Cypriot courtiers divided the court into cliques. When the jealousy of the Savoyard nobility turned to violence against the ducal favourite, Compeys, Louis' reaction was for once swift and immediate - a sentence of condemnation was issued against the league, and was almost as swiftly countermanded by his father. On Amédée's death, Louis took revenge, confiscating the goods of the nobles involved. The rebels sought refuge and assistance from Charles VII, only too eager to intervene, and counteract the influence of his son the Dauphin in Savoy, and by the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Cleppé in 1452 the duke was forced to rehabilitate the offenders.¹⁴⁷

Amédée's second legacy was the creation of apanages for his sons - the Genevois to Louis in 1424 and then to Philippe in 1434. This initiated centrifugal tendencies which his son was to continue, greatly depleting the ducal domain of its finances, - the Genevois and Faucigny was given to Janus in 1456, the Vaudois to Jacques and Bresse to Philippe in 1460. The perils of this policy emerged the following decade when the three brothers emerged as a focus of noble discontent against the spiritual and epileptic Amédée IX (1465-72) and his strong-willed wife Yolande.

Louis', Amédée's and Yolande's inability to exert their authority over their nobility was compounded by the willingness of Savoy's neighbours, on both sides of the Alps, to take advantage of their weakness. Within Savoy, too, the dissident elements feeling themselves distanced from government sought military support, offices or pensions abroad. Jacques, comte de Valpergue, was in the pay of the Dauphin, his enemy Antonio di Romagnano in that of Francesco Sforza. Louis' son, Philippe "sans terre", head of the dissident factions, burst into his father's apartments, seized Valpergue, tortured and killed him. Philippe was imprisoned by Louis XI in 1464, while his father appealed to the Duke of Burgundy for help.¹⁴⁸ It is while Louis was at Hesdin on this mission, that Chastellain commented disparagingly, "ce duc Savoyen n'avoit nulles nobles gens siens, ne de son pays ... luy avoit baille le roy toutes les gens qu'il avoit a sa poste".¹⁴⁹ The career of Jaques de Challant demonstrates how men of calibre were alienated from the court of Savoy and into the service of other powers. Described by Dubois as "en bruit a court et droit mignon du seigneur", de Challant was ostracised for his involvement in the league against Compeys, and forced to renounce the office of governor of Vercelli. However, he and his brother entered the service of the Dauphin, receiving a pension as "conseiller et chambellan" of 1000 lt, rising to 1200 lt. in 1455.¹⁵⁰

Increasingly, the dukes themselves turned to outside aid for support. During the minority of Philibert, Yolande was forced to play a balancing act between her brother Louis XI, Charles the Bold and Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan. When the three brothers besieged Yolande in Grenoble, she was forced to turn to her brother. Later, after the death of Amédée IX, in March 1472, her regency was supported

by Galeazzo Maria against the counter claim of Philippe sans Terre, backed by Louis XI.¹⁵¹

The financial problems of the duchy grew apace. Louis XI, by encouraging an international trade centred on Lyon, successfully destroyed the primacy of Geneva.¹⁵² In Savoy, as revenues from the ducal domains decreased, chastellanies were once more granted to the nobility for services rendered or loans.¹⁵³ Subsidies, once exceptional and extraordinary, became more commonplace. In 1472, the city of Vercelli granted the duchess 50000 florins towards the cost of a memorial service for her husband. Only 20000, were spent on the service, the remainder was diverted for the expenses of the ducal household as, because of the war, "la prise ordinaire de mondit seigneur fut pour la plus part disipee et gastee, tellement quil ny avoit de quoy fournir et satisfaire a la despense mais fust force avoir recours sus le subside".¹⁵⁴ Both Louis and Yolande's military involvements were a drain on revenues. Between August 1448 and June 1449 revenues from Piedmont (subsidies, loans, concessions etc.) amounted to 78838 florins, out of which 70646 florins and 736 ducats were diverted to the Tresorier des Guerres for the war against Milan, 2845 florins and 945 ducats for the personal expenses of the duke and 18534 florins for that of his household.¹⁵⁵

Despite the difficulties of balancing the budget, the magnificence of the ducal court continued unabated. Its artists did not produce work of the calibre of Bapteur and Lamy's "Apocalypse", and the embellishment of the ducal castles and chapels was not on the grand scale of Amédée VIII's, but its musical chapel grew in stature and repute and the household itself doubled in size. While the number receiving liveries and New Year "étrennes" grew from

approximately 100 in 1415, to nearly double that in 1433, under Louis and Anne, this figure rose to 477 in 1447 and peaked at an incredible 617 in 1460, stabilising once more at between 200-250 during the 1470s.¹⁵⁶ The cost of pensions, salaries and gifts naturally increased in real terms. By 1476 the duchess was spending 1503 florins on "étrennes" alone.¹⁵⁷ Part of the reason for the great expansion of the household may be accounted for by the large number of children produced by the fifteenth-century dukes as opposed to their fourteenth-century forebears, ten by Amédée VIII, 18 by Louis and 11 by Amédée IX. The duke, duchess and their offspring each had their own body of servants catering for their own private needs. In 1471, for example, the young Jaques-Louis, then only one year old, had a household of sixteen servants.¹⁵⁸ But the very scale and outward magnificence of the court during the later years of the century, rather than an exemplification of power, was a facade to cover its vacuum at the centre. Though clinging on to its predominantly northern chivalric ethos, the political and financial basis of the Savoyard court was sliding inexorably southwards, where in the succeeding century it accepted its Italianisation wholeheartedly.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RITUALS OF BIRTH, MARRIAGE AND DEATH

The life of the fifteenth century prince was, of necessity, conducted in the public eye. Anonymity was neither desired nor praiseworthy. Hence, the major events of his private life - birth, marriage, death - were amplified into public statements. The private joys of birth and marriage and the private grief of death became occasions for public rejoicing and public mourning, when the prince's subjects must participate in his jubilation or affliction. But so that the status, and thus power, of the prince be made visible, the religious rites of baptism, marriage and funeral were surrounded with court ceremonial, strictly elitist and highly expensive.

The extraordinary expenditure incurred could create financial havoc. As well as the 100,000 ducats involved in the marriage contract of Marie de Savoie and Filippo Maria Visconti in 1427, Amédée VIII prepared a trousseau for his daughter which would not dishonour the dynasty, costing 15900 livres.¹ Daughters, if useful political pawns, were a costly commodity. In 1447 Amédée's papal tiara was pawned to a citizen of Basle to raise 25,000 florins, part payment of Marguerite de Savoie's dowry on her marriage to Louis IV of Bavaria.² The commemoration service held at Vercelli in 1473 cost well over 20,000 florins.³ The price was heavily dependent on subsidies and aids. The states of Anjou granted René an aid of 33,000 livres, the clergy, 3/20 of its annual revenue, to help defray the costs of Margaret of Anjou's marriage to Henry VI at Nancy in 1445.⁴ Louis d'Orléans was

reliant on ex-gratia payments from his brother the king - 15,000 francs d'or for his expenses at Compiègne in 1406 where his son Charles was married to his cousin Isabelle de France,⁵ 8,000 francs in May 1390 for costs incurred by the birth of his first son Louis.⁶

A great deal of this money naturally filtered back into the economy - helping keep buoyant the Paris of the turn of the century, in the case of Orléans, or Geneva in the first half of the fifteenth century in the case of Savoy. Prime beneficiaries, however, were the household officers and servants. Naturally, these occasions demanded a great show of largesse, to visiting ambassadors, heralds, minstrels or, at the funeral, to the poor. But the household servants could hope for a new set of clothes as well as valuable bonuses for the extra services demanded of them at such times. Jean de Compeys was given 200 florins for his "praiseworthy services ... undertaken in great difficulties", in bringing Anne of Cyprus to Savoy in 1434 for her marriage to Louis de Savoie.⁷ Guillaume Rigaud, "maître d'hotel", received 100 florins in recognition of his services in the "administration, provision and disposition" of the funeral arrangements of Philippe, count of Geneva in 1445.⁸ Because of the additional work required in the preparation of the baptismal feast, wedding banquets or funerary "prandium", the kitchen staff were well rewarded for their services. Pierre Turbillion, Pierre Morel dit Boquet, two of the ducal cooks and five of their staff were each given between 1 and 6 florins for their "pena et labore" in the performance of their duties at the count's funeral. Their normal annual salary ranged between 6 and 10 florins.⁹ There were also incidental treats

for some members of the household at least, such as the wine distributed among the ladies and woman servants of the Duchess Yolande in 1468, "incontinent quelle fuz acuchie ... ainsi quest de bonne coustume".¹⁰

As well as organising and participating in the generational rituals of their prince, the cohesion of the household as a unit around his person was further enhanced by his participation in and generosity on the occasion of the births, marriages and deaths of his officers and servants. The prince and his family frequently stood as godparents to their servants' children. Charles d'Orléans presented his "escuier d'escuierie" Jean de Meun with six silver cups costing 60 livres tournois, when he became godfather to his daughter in 1413.¹¹ In 1396 Louis d'Orléans gave 10 ecus d'or to the caretaker of his "hotel" in the Rue St Anthoine, Paris, Jean Godeschaut "dit Lervy", "pour l'aider a nourrir une de ses filles que le duc a tenu sur les fonds, et ses autres enfans".¹² The prince often defrayed other expenses surrounding the birth. René d'Anjou paid the midwife who had been responsible for delivering the child of his "maître d'hotel", Thomas de Senas¹³ and gave Isabeau de Beauvau "mademoiselle de la Jaille", his wife's lady-in-waiting, thirty pieces of damask cloth, worth 45 florins, to give to her child's godmother.¹⁴ Generous monetary gifts were made on the marriage of servants - Jeanne de Laval gave one of her ladies, "la dame des Roches", 2250 florins "comme Il estoit coustume faire aux aultres",¹⁵ her husband gave Guillaume, "aide de saulcerie", two florins to help pay for his wedding in 1479.¹⁶ Providing dowries was another way in which the prince supported his extended

family - Eustache Deschamps, the poet, received 500 francs d'or from Louis d'Orléans in 1396, "pour lavancement du mariage de sa fille".¹⁷ In 1451, René d'Anjou provided his stable valet, Guillaume Herien with accommodation in Angers, as he wished to marry but had no house.¹⁸ Where particularly favoured courtiers were concerned, their weddings were held at court and lavish festivities organised. When Alleran Provana married the daughter of the General of Savoy, Ruffin de Murs, in 1475, the duchess Yolande provided the bride's dress and arranged the morisques, mommeries and other entertainments held after the wedding.¹⁹

Whilst encouraging unity and cohesion, however, the three events of birth, marriage and death initiated changes within the household - modest or dramatic. The birth of each child witnessed the acquisition of a governess, wetnurse, rocker (berceresse) or chamber maid and the establishment of the "hotel des enfants". The nursery was placed in the charge of one of the duchess' ladies in waiting - Jeanne d'Ierville, dame de Maucouvent in the case of Charles d'Orléans and his brothers.²⁰ The more numerous offspring of the dukes Amédée VIII, Louis and Amédée IX required a considerably larger household. By 1442 his numbered at least 30 persons including the chaplain and the "clerc qu'apprend les enfans".²¹ In 1471 the young Jacques-Louis de Savoie had his own household of 16 servants including his governess, the wetnurse and her mother, his own cook and butcher.²² Marriage too, entailed the establishment of the wife's own household - a smaller version of her husband's. By 1397 Valentine Visconti's household numbered at least 64; her

husband's was more than double the size. In order, partly at least, to aid the assimilation of the new bride into the customs of her new court, she only brought a small number of her own retainers with her. The Angevin servants of Marguerite d'Anjou were speedily replaced by English ones.²³ The Savoyard ambassadors responsible for fetching Anne of Cyprus from Nicosia in 1433 had stipulated that only "sept ou huit femmes des plus experts" were to be allowed to accompany their mistress to Savoy and were therefore greatly dismayed when as many as 60 servants arrived on board their ship, including "la nourrisse de nostredite dame qui meyne deux petis enfans qui donnent moult d'empechement".²⁴ These "Cypriots" were increasingly a bone of contention at court for the supposed favoritism shown them by the duke and duchess and reveal the wisdom of keeping the number of "foreigners" accompanying the new bride to a minimum.²⁵

It was undoubtedly death which had the greatest potential for causing disruption in the household. Commonly the testator recommended his household to his heir and it is generally true to say that the practical demands of the new duke required the accumulated expertise of his predecessor's staff. The accounts of René d'Anjou's heir Charles d'Anjou, in 1481 for instance, reveal a significant number of the retainers of the old king in his household.²⁶ There was a similar continuity on the death of Charles d'Orléans.²⁷ The most dramatic example of the break-up of the household, occurred after the assassination of Louis d'Orléans in 1407. The diaspora of his chief officers was partly political but fundamentally the consequence of the extreme insolvency of his heir. It was the

royal households which benefited. Jehan de Roussay, for example, who had served Louis since his youth, became Grand Master of the Household of the Queen,²⁸ while Saquet de Blarru, with the duke since 1391 and his testamentary executor, became the chamberlain and councillor of the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne.²⁹ Consequently, the death of the prince could bring dislocation, as well as unity in mourning, in its wake.

Birth was an important event in the noble household, an assurance of the continuity of the lineage. Its significance was underlined on the occasion of the baptism, a solemn ceremonial attended by the court, representatives from towns within the prince's domains, visiting ambassadors and a host of heralds and minstrels. Accounts of these ceremonies as they were performed at the royal courts of France and England, begin to accumulate from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards. In comparison with the immense detail of Alienor de Poitier's descriptions of the preparations made for the births and baptisms at the court of Burgundy in Les Honneurs de la Cour,³⁰ often used as a convenient model for the practices of continental courts, the documentation for the courts of Orléans, Anjou and Savoy is disappointingly fragmentary. Sufficient, however, survives to suggest that though, in rivalry or admiration, these courts may have sought to emulate Burgundy in many ways, the customs surrounding the "lying-in", baptism and "churching" of the mother were as much affected by the French royal tradition and local or family custom.

The rites surrounding birth fall naturally into two sections - the private and the public. The private involved the confinement

of the mother, some 6 weeks prior to birth, in quarters where she was attended to by her ladies in waiting, midwives and the nurses who would look after the new infant - an exclusively female enclave in the midst of an essentially male household. The public ceremonial centred on the baptism, performed in the presence of a large gathering of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, and the less solemn "churcing" ("relevailles") of the mother - a ritual which gave thanks for her safe delivery and denoted her return to normal life.

Pregnancy gave sufficient advance warning for the elaborate preparation of the suite of rooms set aside for the birth and the utensils - basins, baths etc. - for the use of the infant. The number of these rooms varied. Christine de Pisan claimed that the custom of the Queen of France was five.³¹ Aliénor describes the interior decor of the nursery, the duchess' chamber where the birth took place and an ante-chamber or "chambre de parement" dominated by the ceremonial bed or "lit de parement". At smaller courts, like Savoy, this tri-partite arrangement was rejected in favour of a system of two rooms, probably due to the constraints of space in smaller castles. For instance, at Cavignon in 1468 for the birth of Yolande's son Jean-Charles, the "litz de parement" was erected in "la chambre ou madite dame est acouchee".³²

Contemporary medical opinion directed that these rooms used for the birth should be scrupulously cleaned in advance and fresh tapestries and bed hangings moved in.³³ The birth of the first child in particular, merited the fabrication of an entire "chambre",

or set of matching tapestries, carpets, bedhangings and covers. The calming green of the hangings which Alienor describes swathing the duchess' lying-in chamber was recognised as a symbol of status, but was a custom that established itself initially in the royal household, with Isabeau de Baviere and only at the tail end of the fourteenth century. Proximity to her sister-in-law prior to her exile from Paris, witnessed Valentine Visconti follow the royal trend. In imitation of Isabeau's "gesine" of 1388,³⁴ the preparations for the birth of Louis in 1390 included the purchase of tapestries and hangings in rose, vermillion and green, as well as a "chambre de bature" for her churching.³⁵ By 1400, however, her acquisitions for the birth of Jehan d'Orléans, are entirely in green.³⁶

This custom seems to have filtered into Savoy with the arrival of Marie de Bourgogne. In September 1415 the "chambre vert de la Jacine" was repaired prior to the birth of Bonne de Savoie³⁷ - but it does not seem to have established the foothold that it did elsewhere. The period of transition may have been with the arrival of Anne of Cyprus. Prior to Amédée IX's birth in 1435, the "dossier de la viellie chambre de la gesine" was brought from Geneva to Thonan in order to dye it in either green or red.³⁸ By 1470, the "chambre" bought from the Medici factors in Lyon for the birth of Jacques-Louis, was striped in the dynastic colours of Savoy, white and red.³⁹ Superstition may also have dictated the use of red, a colour widely accredited with properties useful in the prevention of puerperal fever. The preparation of an Agnus Dei surrounded by four evangelists in Anne of Cyprus' lying-in chamber in

1435 was likewise an amulet believed to safeguard the newborn child against illness,⁴⁰ while the 169 large pearls worked into the cover of Marie de Clève's "lit de parement" for the birth of Marie d'Orléans in 1457, was believed to promote a troublefree labour.⁴¹

The division of the ritual into private and public was reflected in the duplication of beds and cradles. Three beds in all were considered appropriate - the "lit de parement" for ceremonial use, a day bed and a third bed used for the birth itself. In 1435 for the birth of Amédée IX, a curtain separated these latter two beds with their covers of red Brussels cloth and green from Rouen.⁴² The "lit de parement" was the more richly made - covered in costly cloth of gold at the birth of Jean-Charles de Savoie in 1468,⁴³ lined with miniver and costing 297 francs in 1390 for that of Louis d'Orléans.⁴⁴ The requirements of ceremonial demanded the preparation of two cradles - a simpler and generally smaller "berssel a bersser" and a more ornate "berssel a parer" with its own canopy.⁴⁵

After the birth, messengers were hurriedly dispatched to neighbouring courts, the bearers of good news handsomely rewarded. Primen de Besoux, "pannetier" of Valentine Visconti, was given 200 francs d'or by the king for bringing the news of the birth of Louis d'Orléans in May 1391.⁴⁶ The birth of the first son elicited the greatest rejoicing. In Chambery the bells rang out for six days and nights at the birth of Amédée IX, during which there were three days of "processionibus et aliis Joci Insigniis".



As was customary, a bonfire was lit "in signum leticie", helping to spread the news around the surrounding countryside.⁴⁷ The birth of the duke's fourth son, Aymon, in 1442 was received more quietly - only one day and night of bell ringing and one day of processions.⁴⁸

The baptism was held a few days after the birth (the delay longer or shorter dependent upon the health of the child) either in the great hall of the castle or a neighbouring church. In both instances the interior was carefully prepared for the event. In 1472, the church of St. Eusebius, Vercelli, was hung with tapestry "pour ce quil fust plus honeste quant lon batoyret ledit glaude galeach monsieur".⁴⁹ If in a castle, a special altar was erected and draped in cloth of gold and a temporary baptistry prepared.⁵⁰ The English Liber Regie Capelle of 1449 sensibly stressed that godparents and visitors should try to be already present at court so that the baptism could take place at once if need be.⁵¹ The godparents were carefully chosen from the peer group or above - a mark of respect, a bestowal of honour or the sign of a growing political friendship. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the godparents chosen for the sons of Yolande and Amedee IX, reflect Savoy's involvement with powers north and south of the Alps - Charles d'Orléans for their first son in 1456, Charles the Bold for Jehan Charles in 1468, Galeazzo Maria of Milan for Glaude Galeos in 1472.

The solemn procession to the church was led by the godparents as the parents did not attend. The infant was carried by a highly placed courtier wrapped in a ceremonial mantel. In 1470 the special "mantel de vellu cramoysyn ... pour baptise mesditseigneurs les

enfants" was relined with ermine for the baptism of Jacques-Louis de Savoie.⁵² Immediately behind in the procession was carried the chrysom, a bonnet or strip of cloth placed on the infant's head after annointment. The inventory drawn up after the death of Valentine Visconti in 1408 has preserved a description of the one used in the baptisms of her sons - "ung cresmeau de soye blanche ouvre de brodeure a perles, ouquel sont les quatre Envangelistes: et y sont quarante [i.e. pearls] une perle plus grosse que les autres".⁵³

It was customary for the child to be held over the font by the godfather or his representative. Louis XI, godfather to Charles d'Orléans' son Louis, complained to Marie de Clèves after the baptism, "c'est enfant qui ne fait que naistre m'a pisse en la manche quant je le tenoie sur les fonts".⁵⁴ It was perhaps incidents like this which persuaded Galeazzo Maria, duke of Milan to send his brother, the duke of Bari, to act in his stead at the baptism of his godchild in 1472, with the excuse "di essere mal apto ad simile solemnitare et ceremonie". Yolande responded that all that would have been necessary would have been for him to set his hand symbolically on the child during baptism, "it is true that the custom is that the first godfather should hold the baby in his arms at the baptism ... but great lords are not forced to do this".⁵⁵

During baptism, a taper symbolising the "light of good example and godly works" in the child's future was placed in his hand and hallowed salt, representing the work of God, placed on the tongue.⁵⁶ Immediately afterwards, torches and tapers were lit throughout the church. Chambéry sent a number of representatives to the baptism

of Anthoine de Savoie in 1408 at Bourget, taking with them 60 torches (weighing 198 lb) which they held burning in their hands during the ceremony.⁵⁷ The press of people in the church could be very great. Elisabeth de Vaten, wife of Charles d'Orléans' "echanson", Jehan Fricon, did not know who had baptised Louis d'Orléans in 1462 although she was present in the church of St. Sauveur, Blois, at the time, because "pro multitudine populi non potuit videre".⁵⁸ When Amédée VIII's sister, Jeanne, was baptised in 1392 a large number of local dignitaries attended including 60 ladies and "bourgeoises" of Chambéry, "ac pluribus aliis presbyteris, prioribus, nobilibus, burgensibus, agricolis et personis locorum". 1200 attended the banquet held after the baptism.⁵⁹

The baptised infant was brought back to the "chambre de parement" and his parents, and wine and spices were offered. Six weeks later the "chambre de parement" was the locus for the ceremonial "churching" or purification of the mother. This is a ritual which has left remarkably little trace in the accounts of Orléans, Savoy or Anjou although their churchings must have borne some similarity to those recorded for the French queens or at the court of Burgundy.⁶⁰ Certainly, the ceremony offered less potential for pomp though Tetzels description of the churching of the English queen, Elizabeth Woodville, in 1465 involves an elaborate procession of priests bearing relics, choirs, heralds and courtiers who escorted the queen to hear mass.⁶¹ During the course of the mass, the mother generally made an offering of gold or silver plate, symbolic bread and wine and a burning taper. The silver dishes which Valentine

Visconti offered at her churching after the birth of Charles in 1394 were promptly sold by the chaplains who sang the mass and who received them as their perquisite, but were then bought back by the duke.⁶²

The duchess' return to court life was celebrated in the "chambre de parement". The room was richly arrayed for the occasion - the "chambre de bature"⁶³ was reserved for Valentine Visconti's "relevailles". The state bed was draped in cloth of gold, and in the corner, the dresser displayed rows of gold and silver plate. The dresser's functions were always only partly practical and mostly ostentatious. In 1475 Yolande sent for a number of gold plates of various sizes "pour garnir davantage ... son buffet a cause des etrangers qui vont et viennent en son hostel".⁶⁴ But an especial effort was made to impress the stream of visitors at the time of baptism or churching. Alienor describes the four tiered dresser "chargees de vaisselles de cristal, garnies d'or et de pierreries"⁶⁵ and in 1457 a magnificent mirror frame of gold was melted down to make a cross and candelabra to adorn the dresser at the birth of Marie d'Orléans.⁶⁶

At their most elaborate, the celebrations terminated in jousting, feasting or entremets. Louis d'Orléans organised jousts in Paris for the "relevailles" of his wife in 1391⁶⁷ and a small scale "mommerie" was performed at that of Anne of Cyprus in 1442.⁶⁸ The lack of references to more, particularly in the case of Savoy, whose accounts are in other respects so complete, would suggest that the greatest solemnities and celebrations, such as they were,

were reserved for the baptism, for which a significant audience had been gathered.

The ceremony of marriage, the potent expression of an essentially political agreement, afforded the prince ample scope for ostentatious display. Triumphs of statesmanship and diplomacy, marriage must be celebrated in a style which would honour both the participating dynasties. The period elapsing between the initial overtures, the toing and froing over the conditions of the contract, its final agreement and the actual marriage ceremony, was generally sufficiently drawn out to permit lavish and detailed preparations. Geographical distance and the extreme youth of both parties were contributory factors. The marriage contract of Louis d'Orléans and Valentine Visconti was finally settled in August 1386, but it was over three years later in September 1389 that their union was formalised at Melun.⁶⁹ Marguerite d'Anjou was officially engaged to Henry VI in May 1444, the marriage taking place in March 1445 during which time her father René d'Anjou had masterminded a series of spectacular jousts and entertainments for the wedding festivities. Even well advanced in the negotiations, questions were raised as to the suitability of the bride. When the dauphin Louis expressed hesitation over which of the Duke of Savoy's daughters he should marry, Amédée VIII's advice was to send some of his councillors whereby "par leurs rapports et aussi de peintres se pourroit informer de leurs personnes".⁷⁰ A closer inspection of the bride was sometimes requested, for the ambassadors to satisfy themselves that the union would prove fruitful. Before

the ceremony of the "espousailles" were allowed to go ahead, the Savoyard embassy at Nicosia in 1433, demanded that Anne de Lusignan, future wife of Louis, duke of Savoy, show herself "ainsi qu'elle se devoit monstrier, tant que nous fusmes content".⁷¹

The format of both the engagement ceremony ("espousailles") and the marriage ("noces") was essentially the same:- a ritual processing to the church, the religious ceremony, a banquet, followed by tournaments, dancing, and increasingly favoured in the course of the fifteenth century, elaborate entremets. The difference between the two was quantitative rather than qualitative. Anne of Cyprus' "espousailles" on 4 October 1433 were comparatively straightforward - the Savoyard ambassadors, headed by Louis, bastard of Achaye, dined with the king Janus, and "apres l'esbatement" the ceremony was conducted at the hour of vespers by the Bishop of Turin, Aymon de Romagnano, whereupon everyone retired for the evening and the festivities do not appear to have resumed the following day.⁷² Her marriage at Chambéry some four months later was a four day long extravaganza laid on at the expense of the Duke of Savoy before the distinguished guests, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bar.

Similarly, the betrothal of Marguerite d'Anjou at Tours on 24 May 1444, was a watered down version of the eight day long spectacle at Nancy in 1445. Of course, the delay between the two ceremonies need not always be so protracted. Charles d'Orléans was betrothed to the 15 year old Marie de Clèves on 16 November 1440, shortly after his release from English imprisonment, having first been required by the Duke of Burgundy to swear to the Peace of Arras

read out to him and his half brother Dunois, in the church of St. Bertin, St. Omer. Philip the Good immediately set in motion the preparations for the wedding ("Et fut envoye par les gens dudit duc en plusieurs et divers lieux de ses pays, pour avoir provisions a furnir la feste d'ycelles neupces") which was held ten days later.⁷³

It was the banquetting, junketting and jousting at weddings which attracted the chronicler's eye, and while the ritual of the ceremony is sometimes briefly related, it is only as a prelude to the description of the entertainments and a blow-by-blow account of the tournaments. Leseur, a valuable eye witness at Nancy in 1445, felt under no compulsion to describe the ceremonial of Marguerite's marriage, but concerned himself exclusively with the jousts.⁷⁴ Perinet Dupin's questionnaire is again instructive on the major interests of the chronicler. Regarding the marriage of Louis de Savoie to Anne of Cyprus, Dupin itemises the information he seeks:-

"le triomphe et le mistiere qui a icelles nopces fut fait tant de robbez que de parmens, de servitude de mes, composition dentremes, lassiette des princes et princesses, et s'il y eu tournoys, harmes, joustes, ne nulz chevalureux faiz, qui furent les jousteurs ausquelx ou donna les prix; la solempnite que on tint aux prix dessus diz livrer tant dehors comme dedans".⁷⁵

It is not, then, purely coincidental that Lefèvre de St. Rémy's contemporary description of the event should cover the very same ground with the exception of the tournaments and knightings.⁷⁶

When chroniclers chose to direct their attentions to the marriage ceremony itself, they were interested in the number and status of the dignitaries present and their role, if any, within the

ritual. The presence of these lay and ecclesiastical notables greatly enhanced the prestige of the host and impressed the chroniclers, at least, immensely. St. Rémy, one of Philip the Good's 200 strong retinue to Louis de Savoie's wedding, notes assiduously the names of the most elevated guests and their seating arrangements at the banquets, concluding, "ce fut une grande et noble assemblée de princes et grans seigneurs, de dames et damoiselles".⁷⁷ The betrothal of Marguerite d'Anjou witnessed the congregation of the courts of France and Anjou, with "comitibus, aliis que magnatibus ... et notabilibus in multitudine copiosa et innumerabiliter ibidem assistentibus".⁷⁸ In this and in Leseur's claim that "toute la noblesse de France" was assembled at Nancy, must be suspected the chronicler's inbuilt proclivity for exaggeration.⁷⁹ However, the attendance of a suitably numerous and distinguished company was vitally important. When inviting the towns of Chambéry, Montmelian, Moutiers and St. Jean de Maurienne, to send delegates to his daughter Marguerite's engagement to Louis III de Sicile, in 1431, Amédée VIII wrote, "Si vous garde bien qu'il n'y ait faulte en tant qua mes notre honiour et estat".⁸⁰ A meticulous attention to the niceties of status shines through the reports. René d'Anjou's entrance into the cathedral of St. Martin at Tours, hand in hand with his brother-in-law Charles VII ("insimul per manus attingentes"), their wives similarly, must have struck observers forcibly with the renewed Angevin influence at court.⁸¹ In his rivalry with the Duke of Burgundy, noticeably absent from Tours and Nancy, René had scored a notable success. Whether, as Beaucourt argued, the reality of René's influence with the king was

not as great as it would appear, it was that "appearance" of influence and power as was displayed at Tours and Nancy which so impressed contemporaries. Just months after Nancy, the Duke of Milan's ambassador would write of the divisions and jealousies between the dauphin, the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy, and René, "e questo per che esso re Reynero e quello che governa tutto questo reame".⁸²

The ceremonies of marriage offered numerous opportunities for the assignment of prestigious roles to honoured guests. Marguerite d'Anjou was escorted into the cathedral by her cousin the Dauphin, and her uncle, Charles du Maine who then presented her to Charles VII. Doffing his hat, the King conducted her to the officiating legate, Pierre de Mont-Dieu, Bishop of Brescia. Once Marguerite and Henry VI's proxy, William de la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk, had given their assent to the marriage, the legate joined their hands, blessed the couple, whereupon the congregation cried "Nöel".⁸³ Amédée VIII's admiration of his nephew, Philip the Good, was made obvious to the other guests at Louis de Savoie's wedding, by his constant presence throughout the four days of the festivities, in the privileged position at the side of the bride. Anne was led into the chapel by Philip and René d'Anjou, then Duke of Bar, and on each successive night of banquetting, Philip sat next to her at the top table.⁸⁴ Savoy's relationship with Burgundy was one which Amédée particularly valued. Since his marriage, he had frequently visited Dijon where he had imbibed valuable ideas on the uses of ceremonial and etiquette in the affirmation of his personal authority, ideas which he developed a stage further in the Statuta Sabaudiae. Not

prodigal by nature, Amédée only lavished money on occasions which would maximise his reputation. In this "annus mirabilis" of 1434, the culmination of his policies and career, a year which would witness his semi-retiral from worldly affairs, the elaborate festivities and the prominence given to the Duke of Burgundy was as much a statement of their equal footing as René's entertainment of the king at Nancy. The guests were treated to a mass specially commissioned from the "maitre de chappelle", the famous Guillaume Du Fay, entitled "De Quaremiaux", as the wedding was held on Quinquagesima Sunday, otherwise known as "Caresmentrant". As Saint Rémy acknowledges, the ducal chapel was highly regarded, "pour l'heure, on tenoit la chappelle du duc la meilleur du monde".⁸⁵

The entertainments organised were among the most complex to be presented in Savoy until the regency of the duchess Yolande. Messengers were despatched to Freiburg, Lausanne, Lyon and Grenoble to fetch artists to supplement those at court in the mammoth task of preparing the entremets. The 47½ gross of bells of various sizes purchased for attaching to the costumes of the performers gives some indication of the scale.⁸⁶ On each evening, the audience was treated to the spectacle of a different fantastic world, wildmen bearing a huge wax rosefilled garden in the midst of which a live and uncomfortable billy goat was tied; a man disguised as an eagle burst out of a pastry case whereupon a host of white doves flew out from under his wings; forty masked dancers clad dramatically in black and gold whirled up and down the length of the hall and the God of Love with peacock wings, shot pink and white roses into the laps of the ladies. This was a spectacle to

rival any that had been performed at the Burgundian court and St. Rémy, who must have witnessed a few, was favourably impressed - "et fust la feste, sans tournoy et joustes, aussi belle qu'on pouvoit veoir; et, pour la beaute d'icelle, je le mis par escript".⁸⁷

The written or verbal reports of eyewitnesses, particularly of ambassadors and heralds, were vitally important as their impressions would be fed back to their masters and other courts. These two groups were, therefore, singled out for especial attention. The Milanese embassy at Bourget to finalise the marriage of Marie de Savoie to Filippo-Maria Visconti in 1427, were richly rewarded and entertained, 1205 florins were spent on gifts of gold and silver for the four ambassadors, a quarter of that sum alone on two silver basins for the head of the delegation, Bartolomeo Capra, the archbishop of Milan. Amédée VIII went to considerable efforts to impress his guests - tapestries were brought from Thonon and Morges, his jewellery was collected from Piedmont, extra beds from Chambéry, silver plate was borrowed from the Bishop of Lausanne, the duke's ceremonial cloak of cloth of gold was brought from Thonon and Amédée de Fleschieres was sent to Annecy "quesitum dominas", to swell the company.⁸⁸

Surviving reports testify to the presence of large numbers of heralds and minstrels, "international journalists" who flocked to these events to compare notes. Monstrelet made comment on the profusion of "kings-at-arms, heralds, poursuivants, trumpeters, minstrels and others playing a variety of musical instruments" at the marriage of Charles d'Orléans and Marie de Cleves, the heralds, including Garter King-at-Arms, all wearing their coats of arms.⁸⁹ The five Kings at Arms and nine heralds at Chambéry in 1434, were

given 250 florins between them.⁹⁰ Their task was to disseminate the details of the event and thereby exalt the reputation of the court and its prince elsewhere. René d'Anjou's prestige was to be enhanced rather more vicariously by the sending of five of his minstrels to England to witness his daughter's coronation ceremonials in London, and "to make a report thereof abroad".⁹¹

The wedding was the ideal opportunity for the display of finery as an indicator of social rank, power and wealth. The attention lavished on the bridal toilette emerges from both documentary and chronicle evidence alike. The author of the Chronique de Lorraine expresses astonishment at the gown of Marie de Fenestrange, daughter of the Marshal of Lorraine:-
 "tout partout d'orfebvrieres, pierreries, perles dor et dargent estoit chargiee; il n'y avoit homme que sceut a dire de quelle couleur estoit ledict habillament".⁹² The early fifteenth century was particularly prone to this kind of display of "ornamental money". When his son Charles was married to Isabelle de France in 1403, Louis d'Orléans had three separate garments made, each encrusted with a portion of the 795 pearls and other rich gems removed from a quantity of silver and gold plate.⁹³

The focus for the concentration of the wedding finery was naturally the bride. Her outfit was comprised of three parts - a mantel, surcoat⁹⁴ ("corset") and dress. Their rich material, usually cloth of gold, and voluminousness, spoke eloquently of the status of the bearer. The Statuta Sabaudia stipulated that the privilege of wearing the costly matrimonial mantel and crown, was reserved for the duke's daughters and daughters-in-law alone.⁹⁵ The trousseau

prepared for Marie de Savoie in 1427, included a white and gold brocade cloak, surcoat and cloth of gold dress "a grand manches", "pour l'espousier".⁹⁶ Ceremonial dress, be it for a wedding or a funeral, was characterised by long sleeves and trains. When Marie de Clèves was ceremoniously escorted into St. Bertin, Jean, bastard of St. Pol, followed at a stately pace carrying her right sleeve, one of her ladies bearing her long train "qui estoit moult riche".⁹⁷

Three changes of clothing were considered appropriate for a wedding. In 1434 over 10,787 florins were spent on cloth of gold for the ducal family, the bride and groom each receiving three differently coloured robes.⁹⁸ St. Rémy notes that on her arrival and at her marriage ceremony, Anne was wearing a vermillion dress bearing her husband's device, but immediately afterwards, changed into a "riche robe de drap d'or".⁹⁹ However, clothing must not only be expensive and inconveniently cumbersome if it was to adequately reflect her rank, it should also be up to date. Hence, the three cloth of gold dresses Anne had taken with her from Cyprus were retailed "a la fassion de cest pais".¹⁰⁰

In Veblen's seminal The Theory of the Leisure Class, he stated that, "in order to gain and hold the esteem of men, it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence".¹⁰¹ The rich spectacle of the marriage festivities was one vital means of putting in evidence the prince's wealth and power before his peer group and subjects; an exercise in self-advertisement and self-aggrandizement leaving traces of its success in the eulogies of the chroniclers.

In the fifteenth century the concept of "vivre noblement" was matched by a clear perception of what constituted the fitting form of funeral appropriate to that status. A concern for their proper organisation was not, however, the preserve of the aristocracy alone. Recent research has demonstrated the heightened concern of even modest testators for the ritualised ceremonial of the "bellos obsequies".¹⁰² Yet the "grans honneurs, cerymonies et sumptueulx luminaires"¹⁰³ of the noble funeral were not mere quantitative amplifications of their less illustrious counterparts. Certainly, the greater financial resources of the nobility combined with their technical expertise in the production of such public events, created a spectacle outwith the purse of the majority, but the noble funeral had also a distinctive character which transcended financial considerations. As in all areas of ceremonial life, the rites surrounding these underwent increasing codification in the process of the fifteenth century, exemplified towards the end of the period, by the appearance of a number of treatises, produced by heralds, giving guidance on the correct procedure, entitled variously "Comment on doit faire obseques de grand seigneurs" or "[what] Herauts et poursuivants doivent savoir...".¹⁰⁴ These treatises sought to impose uniformity on a situation which clearly embraced considerable variation:-

"tous heraulx et poursievans doibvent cognoistre comment les obsecques se doibvent faire mais plusieurs ny tiennent point de Regle Car les ungs les font par devocion de messes a petit de luminaire detres petis paiemens Et aultres les font a grans paiemens et grans pompes et a peu de messes et en plus grand magnificence qui ne leur appartient".¹⁰⁵

The transgression of the, until then, unclarified barriers of what was the suitable ceremonial for each rank within the aristocracy, was evidently something that struck deep at their conceptions of status and hierarchy. The Statuta Sabaudiae laid down its own boundaries to differentiate the mourning and funeral customs of the duke's own family from those of his barons and other sectors of society.¹⁰⁶ In the fluid social circumstances of the late Middle Ages there was an even greater pressure on the upper echelons of the aristocracy, on the kings, princes and dukes, to differentiate their funeral ceremonies from those of the rest of the nobility and thereby underline their pre-eminent position within that feudal hierarchy.

The funeral was both a private, religious and individual occasion and a public, secular and corporate one. Chiffolleau, in his study of the bourgeois of Avignon, attributed the increasing emphasis on ceremonial evinced in their testaments, to the break up of family ties and the increasing isolation of the individual in the urban arena.¹⁰⁷ For the noble, there was no such fear of being "deraciné". Buried with his ancestors in the family tomb, surrounded by escutcheons proclaiming his lineage, borne to his final resting place by his extended family - his retinue, the noble's passage from this world, as his progress through life, was buffered from this isolation. The testament, however, was an individual statement which permitted the noble considerable flexibility in the stage management of his own funeral - he could therein determine his burial ground, the number of candles to be used and their weight in wax, the number of poor paid attendants and the alms to be distributed, the form of procession

and the masses to be said at the interment and subsequent services. Many testators chose not to be explicit on these points, to our detriment. The expectation was that the executors could be trusted to organise a funeral which fully reflected one's rank in society and at the same time paid honour to the dynasty. Amédée VI entrusted all the arrangements to his executors, many of whom were his friends, emphasizing only that they befit his status ("prout suo statui congruit").¹⁰⁸ In 1403 Louis d'Orléans specified that the tapers, torches and escutcheons to be placed around the church and his corpse, "si comme il est coutume en tel cas", are to be organised on the advice of his executors.¹⁰⁹ René d'Anjou's final testament of 1474 reveals his concern that the ceremony should truly reflect his regal status - for instance, the lighting must be disposed around the church "comme est accoutume a faire pour les Rois".¹¹⁰ The testaments of noblewomen, where such exist, are particularly reticent, generally laying the burden of the funeral direction at the feet of the executors. At the end of the day, the final format of the funeral was more often the vision of the living rather than the specification of the dead. It was only towards the end of the century that the heralds took over their management definitively. In 1480, Jeanne de Laval, nominated chief executor in her husband's testament, organised her husband's "fenebreuse solennite a grant appareil et triomphe" in St. Sauveur, Aix.¹¹¹ A year later, it was Louis XI who wrote to the cathedral, university, mayor and judiciary of Angers explaining how they should "ordonner et disposer pour l'enterrement de son oncle le roy de Sicile ... et quilz lui fissent l'onheur qui luy appartenoit".¹¹² His widow was nevertheless consulted about the provision of lighting, vestments and

drapes, to be placed in the cathedral "ad dispositionem Reginae".¹¹³ The more voluminous records of Savoy reveal the constant oversight, in the mechanics of preparation, of the masters of the household, under the command of the ducal council. In January 1465, Glaude Bergier and Robinet Butoy, squires from the household of the late duke Louis, were dispatched by the Grand Master of the Household, Glaude d'Aix, and "par le commandement de son venerable conseil", to purchase material at Lyon for the mourning robes.¹¹⁴ The expenditure for the interment of Amédée IX in 1472 was undertaken on instructions from "messeigneurs du conseil"¹¹⁵ whilst that of his memorial service held the following year at Vercelli, seems to have been supervised by that city's bishop, Urbain Bonivard.¹¹⁶

It was not always possible for the executors to respect the wishes of the testator and sometimes they disregarded what did not suit them or what they were pressurised to overlook. In keeping with the devotional character of his testament, with the rejection of pomp in favour of simplicity, Louis d'Orléans requested that the "gisant" on his tomb should be depicted as he had been buried, "dressed in the habit of the Celestine order, having a rough stone like a rock under my head in place of a pillow and another unpolished rock at my feet in place of lions".¹¹⁷ Over a year after his assassination, Maistre Jehan Thoiry, "ymagier" of Paris presented a design for a tomb to the young duke Charles for his approval. The style was dramatically different. Instead of a rough habit, Louis was to be represented in his ducal robes wearing the "colier du camail a sa devise", "lyons ou chiennez gisans"

replacing the "rude rocher" at his feet. The tomb does not seem to have been executed although Thoiry was given an initial payment.¹¹⁸ The episode, however, is significant because the pious self-image Louis wished to record on his tomb did not accord with the image of the great duke, the son and brother of Kings, which his embattled heirs and followers wished to perpetuate, and it was therefore rejected.

A more fundamental deviation from the testament was the burial of Amédée VIII at Ripaille in 1451 when his testament had specified that only his heart should be buried there, while his body should be transported to the Cistercian monastery of Haultecombe and laid "in the chapel .. founded by his predecessors of most glorious memory".¹¹⁹ It was one of René d'Anjou's testamentary wishes too that his body be taken from Provence to Anjou for burial with his first wife and other members of his family. However, "les seigneurs d'Aix ne se voulurent permettre etre frustrées de si noble tresor comme le corps de leur tant aymé prince"¹²⁰ and it was only by subterfuge that his widow succeeded in removing the remains to Angers.

The location of burial, which determined the locale of the funeral, was the first concern of the testator and was motivated by both personal and dynastic considerations. The increasing sophistication of embalming techniques in the fifteenth century facilitated the dispersal^{of the parts} of the body and their burial in separate tombs. Though frowned upon by the church, it was a custom eagerly adopted by the Angevins, if not by the dukes of Orléans and Savoy. The triple burial of body, heart and viscera allowed Louis I of Anjou to symbolise his royal birth, by designating the

Sainte Chapelle for his body, and to establish the cathedral of St. Maurice at Angers as the dynastic necropolis for his heart.¹²¹ It was a connection that René was only too eager to foster and his decision to erect a magnificent tomb in one of the lateral chapels, taken as early as 1444, indicates his intentions to set St. Maurice on a par with the Burgundian Champmol or even St. Denis of the French kings.¹²² Unlike the ostentatiously simple tomb Louis d'Orléans had wanted, that of René and his wife Isabelle de Lorraine was to symbolise his regality as well as his distinguished lineage. The "gisants" were to appear in the royal regalia, the sculptured shields of Anjou and Lorraine displayed prominently along the sides of the tomb.¹²³ The mausoleum of the counts of Savoy at Hautecombe had been established as such early in the fourteenth century yet the tradition began to be broken in the mid fifteenth century with the burial of Amédée VIII at Ripaille and as subsequent dukes spend long periods elsewhere than Savoy strong personal attachments were developed with churches in Geneva (St. Peter's) and Vercelli (St. Eusebius). Amédée IX's death had been too precipitate for him to leave a testament, but whatever his feelings on the matter, his heir and executors yielded to the "complacentia et preghiera de Vercellesi" and buried him in St. Eusebius. According to Antonio de Appiano, the Milanese ambassador, and with some distortion of the truth, this was "notwithstanding that all the lords of Savoy who have died on this side of the mountains have always been buried at Pinerolo".¹²⁴ Custom, tradition and precedent always came into play whatever the individual wishes

of the testator. In any case, the aristocracy, inherently conservative, were at all times respectful of tradition and disinclined to innovation. The canons of the church of St. Lau, Angers, were very willing to receive the body and heart of René d'Anjou, newly arrived from Provence because "from time immemorial the bodies of the counts and dukes of Anjou have customarily been taken immediately after their deaths to the said church of St. Lau, from whence the body must be taken and carried in procession to be buried".¹²⁵ A response to a direct precedent, was Louis d'Orléans' desire to be displayed after death "in the choir of the Celestines, Paris, "having my face and hands uncovered". According to Froissart, Charles V, Louis' father, had his face displayed throughout the funeral procession. . Louis acknowledges the imitation directly when he exhorts his household to wear grey or tan after his death "following the good example of the household of my late lord and father".¹²⁶ Local customs could also impinge on the funeral. Fifty-two candles were distributed to the chaplains attending the burial of Bernard de Savoye in 1467 "each one given his own as is the custom of the town of Pinerolo".¹²⁷

In its essentials the funeral was the same for everybody whatever their position in the social hierarchy:- vigils the evening before, the procession escorting the body to church, the office for the dead, the Requiem Mass, the funeral oration, absolution and burial. The nobility were exceptional in the number of times this service, with the exception of burial, could be repeated on their behalf. Scheduled services were held on fixed days after death - on the 3rd, 7th, 9th, 30th or 40th day and on the anniversary. On 1 April 1472 the clergy of Vercelli began to celebrate the cycle of masses

for the interment of Amédée IX. Three "grans messes pontificales" (Notre Dame, St. Esprit and the Requiem Mass) were celebrated by the bishops of Vercelli, Turin and the Tarentaise officiating. A further 156 less costly "messes basses" were performed in churches throughout the city. The following 30 days saw the continued celebration of services (the tricenarium), the majority during the first nine days, or "neuvaine", during which time 10 Requiem masses and 704 others were celebrated, 38 Requiem masses and 1507 others over the 30 days. To complete the "quarantaine" a further 74 masses were celebrated on 11 May.¹²⁸ Concurrently, unscheduled memorial services were celebrated throughout the duchy and by relatives of the duke and other princes. The "Remembrancia" held at Chambéry in 1416 for Jean, Duke of Berry, Amédée VIII's grandfather, was more elaborate than the funerals of many of the younger members of the dynasty. A total of 574 clergy, including priests, monks and representatives of the mendicant orders had been summoned to celebrate masses on his behalf.¹²⁹

All testators stressed the desire that as many ecclesiastics as was possible should participate at the burial or memorial. René d'Anjou requested that "all the chaplains who wish to appear and assist at the said interment of his body to celebrate masses, should be made welcome."¹³⁰ For his anniversary or memorial service Amédée VIII demanded the presence of 3000 priests. But if the masses were to prove effective in lightening the sufferings of Purgatory it was essential that they not only be numerous, but that they be concentrated around and shortly after decease. Immediately

after his death vigils were to be said "le plus continuellement quil pourront" for Louis d'Orléans and as many hundreds of masses as he was in years "le plus brief que faire se pourra".¹³¹

The quantity and status of the clergy present naturally reflected the standing of the deceased. 164 clergy including eight of the household chaplains and the Prior of Pierre-Châtel, attended the interment of Anthoine de Savoie at Hautecombe in September 1408 as befitted the funeral of the eldest son of the count.¹³² Only 68 were present at the abbey in 1445 for that of Jacques, the sixth son of Louis and Anne, who had also died in infancy.¹³³ A year previously the burial of Jacques' uncle, Philippe count of Geneva had seen 212 priests perform a total of 5000 masses.¹³⁴ Each priest or friar was remunerated and thus their attendance recognised a mutually satisfactory exchange. Yet, in their "purchase of paradise",¹³⁵ the services of the clergy and the spiritual space of the church were totally monopolised by the noble. As surely as the household had ministered to his material needs when alive, the clergy became his servants catering for his pre-eminently spiritual ones.

A noble was judged in the eyes of society, and particularly by the chronicler, not merely by the number of his retinue, but also by the rank of those participating in the key moments of his life. For this reason, the officiating clergy should be of some standing in the religious community. In May 1453, Romarin poursuivant, was sent to fetch the abbots of Louroux, Longue and La Bossière to attend the funeral service of Isabelle de Lorraine.¹³⁶ The assembled dignitaries at the memorial service for Amédée IX

and his parents held at Vercelli, 1 April 1473, included the Bishops of Aosta, Yvorea, Turin, Vercelli, the Dean of Savoy and the Abbots of St. Maurice of Agaune, Hau tecombe, St. Sulpice, Cavours among others.¹³⁷ A good turn out of local and foreign nobility was also a prerequisite. The expenses of the ambassadors of the Count of Montferrat, the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Saluces, and Artois, herald of the duke of Burgundy during their stay at Vercelli, were defrayed by the Duke of Savoy. In his "apologia", written in defence of Yolande, duchess of Savoy, Jacques Lambert argues that the "exequies et ensevellimens" at Vercelli, "with such great and so honourable ceremonies and solemnities and with such a grand company and great number of lords and statesmen, both ecclesiastical and lay and with such splendid and beautiful lighting", were well worthy every "gros" of the 20,000 florins expended on them.¹³⁸ An example of the judgements men made on the basis of this appears in Dubois' Chronique de Challant. Writing of the obit celebrated for Boniface de Challant in 1430, he notes, "oncques de montemps ne vy tant de noblesse a sepulture d'homme. Dieu monstra bien qu'il avoit este honorable en son temps".¹³⁹

Speedy inhumation was the lot of the majority of the population which pared the complexity of the attendant rites to the maximum that time, as well as the purse, could afford. For the aristocracy, embalmmnt opened up new possibilities, allowing the executors some breathing space during which time the appropriate nobles could be informed, the ecclesiastics of the surrounding countryside summoned to attend and the carpenters, artists and tailors set hastily to work

on the fabrication of the "chappelle ardente", the whole panoply of heraldic devices and achievements and the sets of mourning clothes. Beaune believes that the average delay between death and burial of the noble, which in 1400 was 4-5 days, rose to as long as 10 days by 1500. Where royalty was involved the delay could be even more protracted - as long as 20 days for Charles VI.¹⁴⁰ In Savoy, the tradition was very different from northern France whence Beaune derives her evidence. Interment generally followed within three days of death, or as long as the journey to the chosen locale of burial required. Amédée VIII died on 7 January 1451 and was buried two days later,¹⁴¹ his grandson Amédée IX died on 30 March and was interred on 1 April.¹⁴² His wife Yolande, died on 29 August 1478 and "fut garder morte oudit chasteau de moncavrel jusque le mercredy eusuyvant."¹⁴³ This was just enough time to cover the inside and outside of the litter in black material, make two black horse trappings hanging "Jusques a terre" for the horses pulling the litter, and a "grant couverte" or canopy of "bon velours noir"¹⁴⁴ so that her corpse could be borne "a grant magnificence et nombre de gens a verceil".¹⁴⁵ The 6 week delay caused by the problems of transporting the body of Amédée VI from San Stefano to Savoy in 1383, did not recur in the fifteenth century, as his unwarriorlike descendants died in their beds and the longest journey was therefore from Geneva to Haultecombe. The shortness of time between death and burial meant that the interments held at Haultecombe were not generally lavish affairs. Full blown ceremonial was preserved for the later "sepulture", or memorial service, which could coincide with the anniversary or "missa capitis annis", concluding the year of

mourning, or even at some other date.¹⁴⁶ Amédée VIII stipulated in his testament that his "sepulture" should be "honourably celebrated" at Haultecombe within one year of his burial.¹⁴⁷ The commemoration held for Amédée IX at Vercelli was one year to the day after his burial, but he shared it with that of both his parents, Louis and Anne, who died in 1465 and 1462 respectively. Another joint obit was celebrated in October 1432 for Bonne de Savoie who had died in September 1430, and her more recently deceased brother, Amédée, Prince of Piedmont.¹⁴⁸ On one occasion the "sepulture" was abandoned altogether. Nicholas Robert, the court artist had begun to make the hatchments and escutcheons necessary for the obit of the young prince of Piedmont, Charles, who had died in France returning to Savoy to help his father against the machinations of Philippe de Bresse and Jacques count of Romont. It was this continuing problem which had flared up again at Chambéry in 1471 on the eve of the service - "et est assavoir que ledit sevelliment ne fut poent fait pour ainsy quil avoit este deliberé tant pour cause des differences que lors estoient comme pour ce que monditseigneur partit de Chambéry pour aller a Thonon".¹⁴⁹ This arrangement of saving the formal rituals for the "sepulture" worked very well in Savoy allowing dignitaries to gather from both sides of the Alps and avoiding situations like Amédée VIII's burial at Ripaille where several Carmelite and Augustinian friars were unable to reach the abbey in time and so arrived "post complementum totius officii et Interramentum corporis".¹⁵⁰

Outside Savoy, where the tradition was the reverse, an extended period before burial was not always observed, even for

nobles of high status. Louis d'Orléans was admittedly unusual for the haste with which his corpse was committed to his tomb the day after his assassination, yet several factors mitigate the suspicion that the presence of his mutilated remains was a "hot potato". Firstly, the dreadful condition of his body would have militated against the best efforts of the early fifteenth century embalmer. Notwithstanding the assertion of the Religieux that the obsequies, lasting two days, were "celebrées en grande pompe au milieu de tous les assistants",¹⁵¹ Louis' testamentary instructions were quite explicit that the funeral should be simple. If his wishes were followed to the letter, the preparation time normally required for the fabrication of the "chappelle ardente", which he dispensed with, or candles and escutcheons, could have been dramatically foreshortened. Nicolas de Baye informs us that, at the time of Louis' assassination, many of the most important men of the kingdom were currently in Paris - the King and dauphin, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon and Burgundy, Louis, king of Sicily, Jean, c^{te} de Nevers, the counts of Alençon and Clermont et al.¹⁵² Given the proximity of the burial ground in the Celestines, and the presence of Louis' family and other major nobles, there was little to hinder his immediate burial. The presence of his widow Valentine Visconti was not required as women did not attend funerals at this period.

When embalmment was successful, the interment of the body could be delayed for a considerable period. On its arrival in Angers in August 1481, the lead coffin of René d'Anjou was prised open to prove to the clergy of St. Lau that it was indeed the king.

Inside, his body was found to be "aussi froiz que si n'y eust eu que cinq ou six jours qu'il eust ete trespace", this, a year after his death in July 1480.¹⁵³ The postponement of his reburial until 9 October, while the necessary preparations were made both in the cathedral of St. Maurice, and in the chapel of St. Bernardin for the reception of his heart, was not thereby detrimental to the condition of his remains.

Death ushered in a period of sometimes intense activity in the noble household. Messengers were immediately dispatched to inform relatives and the "crieurs de corps" proclaimed the death in the main towns of his domains. This was intended both as a summons to prayer directed at clergy and lay alike and a means of serving notice to all debtors and creditors. Jehan Girart "Crieur de vins et de corps" was hired by Louis d'Orléans in October 1393 and was also made responsible for procuring the 50 poor attendants and their black mourning robes for bearing the torches at the funeral of Jehan d'Orléans.¹⁵⁴ Louis' own testament enjoined his executors to pay all his debts "jusques au dernier denier" and they were to establish these by "having cried solemnly through all the towns, places and countries where I have lived or resided, that if there should be anyone to whom I am in any way indebted, they should make themselves known to my executors, who will pay them to their satisfaction".¹⁵⁵ Louis had built up a considerable number of debts throughout France, not so his less well travelled son Philippe, c^{te} de Vertus. On his death in July 1420, the publication was limited to Blois and performed by Adenet "sergent de Blois qui a cryé et publié par les carrefours

de Blois et ou lieu du marché hors de la ville".¹⁵⁶

The first duty incumbent on the clergy was the saying of prayers, psalms and vigils around the body as it lay in state, either in the church, or, as was more customary towards the end of the century, in the palace or castle. Louis d'Orléans wished his corpse to be brought immediately and placed in the choir of the Celestines, his "face and hands uncovered".¹⁵⁷ In 1472 the remains of Amédée IX were laid out "molto degnamente" on a bed in the ground floor hall of his palace, under a cloth of gold canopy "con altri degni apparechii", and the entire population of this city, great and small, men and women, came to look at him.¹⁵⁸

In any funeral, whatever the status of the defunct, the lugubrious cortege escorting the body to its place of burial, fulfilled a most important religious and cathartic role. Chiffolleau, indeed, called it the "fundamental rite" of the ceremony. It was perhaps the most ambivalent aspect of the obsequies involving a significant number of religious and secular intercessors, and by its nature employing considerable ostentation. Aristocratic households, more than any other level of society, had accumulated expertise in the organisation of processions. The funeral cortege of the prince has rightly been described as the "ultime reflet" of his "joyeuses entrees", deploying a similar "faste".¹⁵⁹ At the former, however, the distinction between spectator and actor was a blurred one and its primary objective was to ensure as large an attendance as possible, for minimal expense, and galvanise the whole community into prayer for the deceased. Late medieval catholicism, it is true, was largely "a cult of the living in the service of the dead".¹⁶⁰

The locale of the procession was naturally important if its passing was to achieve maximum dramatic impact. At Aix in 1480 the streets were draped in black along the route of the procession, the whole occasion engendering "des cris et larmes inconsolables".¹⁶¹ René's reburial the following year at Angers was bound to be charged with emotion in the light of his ten year absence and the conclusion of the dynasty's links with the duchy which this event symbolised. Had Louis d'Orléans been less unpopular with the citizens of Paris, the bearing of his corpse through the city's streets might have provoked a powerful reaction to his assassination.

Careful attention was paid to the internal hierarchy and composition of the cortege, information that was often carefully relayed by the chroniclers. In regard to the funeral of Amédée VIII, Dupin was eager to learn of the "mistiere qui fu tenuz a le porter a leglise",¹⁶² but in other respects, the dukes of Savoy have not been well served by their chroniclers and what information survives on the composition of their corteges must be carefully extrapolated from the accounts. As the weight of the ritual in Savoy was reserved for the "sepulture" rather than the burial itself, the funeral procession to Haultecombe or elsewhere, seems to have been a low key affair. The presence of the household and members of the family "en grand deuil", such crucial elements of the cortege, are noticeably lacking, their position filled predominantly by priests and mendicants. Thirty six people and thirty eight horses, two of which pulled the litter, accompanied the body of the infant Jacques de Savoie from Geneva to Haultecombe in 1445.¹⁶³ Thirteen

Dominicans and Franciscans and forty poor boys carrying torches escorted the litter through the streets of Geneva as far as the gate leading out of the city at the river Arve, alongside "*plures alii pedestres neccessarii circoncirca corpus et portantes faces*". Two of the poor boys, symbolising Jacques' youth, continued to carry torches as far as Haultecombe along with 18 mendicants and two of the ducal chaplains, who "*yverunt pro maiori parte pedes*" and carried a cross. 100 torches were purchased in Geneva "*pro luminaris sepulture*", weighing 249 lb in all, 50 of which were burnt during the procession in Geneva, doubtless so as to create a fitting impression. Four were borne before the litter en route. A small number of household servants and officers followed the bier which was covered in a black pall bearing a red cross, the horses similarly swathed in ground length trappings. Led by Amédée de Challant, ducal chamberlain and councillor and Glaude de Challes, "*maitre d'hotel*", this group was composed mainly of representatives of the "six offices" whose task was to cater for the practical needs of the company - e.g. Nycod Vion, cook, Pierre Petit of the buttery, and Humbert Roisset, apothecary. The increased retinue which accompanied the corpse of Philippe, cte de Genève, to Haultecombe the following year was consistent with his greater age and status. Present in the cortege, though it is impossible to reconstruct in what order, were Cardinal Varambon (Louis de La Palud), Cardinal St. Marcel, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Archbishops of Aosta and the Tarentaise, eight members of the ducal chapel, and 13 Franciscans and 7 Dominicans who "*iverunt pedes cum una cruce*". As was customary, five crosses

from the parish churches of St. Peter, St. Victor and St. John and the mendicant orders, accompanied the cortege on its journey to Haultecombe, joined by a company of 150 poor torchbearers. Thirty two of the count's own household were in attendance assisted by a number of ducal officers (i.e. Mermet Brigand and Perrode, cooks, Camnet "pannetier", Jehan Ruffin, "bouteiller" and Louis the apothecary) under the supervision of François Ruffin, "maitre d'hotel". Swelling the company were several "persone pedestres sequentes", perhaps in anticipation of a share in the alms and admittance to the "prandium".¹⁶⁴

The surviving evidence contained in the accounts of Savoy is unfortunately insufficient for it to be determined whether the procession was re-enacted for the benefit of the "sepulture" in its more usual and more elaborate form - that is, the poor torchbearers in the vanguard, followed by the mendicant orders, parish clergy, monks, prelates etc., the coffin as the focus of attention surrounded by officers of the household, the members of the family or important nobility "en grand dueil" directly behind and other local nobility and household servants bringing up the rear. The cortege of Jean de Calabre presents the more standard composition notwithstanding its possible Catalanian influences. According to our witness Jacme Cafont,¹⁶⁵ the procession was led by a crowd of mourners bearing torches. The "grand croix" of the cathedral followed, together with 13 parish crosses, the cathedral canons and nine ushers in mourning. The coffin, draped in rich crimson cloth of gold, was borne on the shoulders of 14 men - representing his household, his knights

and councillors and the city of Barcelona itself where Jean had won such popularity. Immediately behind the coffin followed three horses bearing a king-at-arms wearing Jean's coat of arms, the usher Andres de Montserrat carrying his shield and finally a herald trailing the prince's banner ("la banniere du Primogenit") along the ground. Alongside, the prince's standard was borne aloft, and at each cross-roads it was lowered before the assembled mourners "en signifiante qu'ils avoient tout perdu".¹⁶⁶ Particularly where the funeral occurred in a major city in the domain of the deceased, the cortege symbolised the participation of the whole community, rather than the limitation of the mourning to the immediate family and household. It was the privilege of the latter, however, to be stationed closest to the coffin in the procession. According to Monstrelet, the body of Louis d'Orléans was escorted from the Guilliermins to the Celestines by a large cortege of clergy and noblemen. The coffin itself was carried by the principal officers of his household while the corners of the pall were held by the bearers of the "Grand dueil", the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon and the King of Sicily, "uttering groans and shedding tears".¹⁶⁷ The supporting cast of his son Charles' funeral was far less distinguished. It was the duke's three pages who followed the litter on horseback, while his daughter's fiancé, Pierre de Bourbon, seigneur de Beaujeu, as chief mourner, led the household.¹⁶⁸

Towards the end of the century reports of individual funerals, outwith their inclusion in chronicles, begin to proliferate, among which survives the fascinating "Procès-verbal", by Balthasar de Hirtenhaus,

of René d'Anjou's reburial at Angers on 26 October 1481. As he would have wished it, and indeed directed as much in his testament, his burial was organised on regal lines and not merely noble ones. This affected the whole tenor of the ceremony and in particular the organisation of the cortege. The most significant difference is the total absence of the household and the usurpation of their position of pre-eminence within the cortege - closest to the king's remains - by the town's clergy and university. This absence may be partly explained by the break-up of the king's household on his death, with many of his officers staying on in Provence in the service of his nephew and heir Charles du Maine. However, one might have expected some token representation from the queen's household or from Angevin nobles who had known service to the Angevin dukes. Instead, the cortege symbolises the appropriation of the funeral ceremony by the town - it is now an occasion of state.

The cortege was led by the mendicant orders (Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite and Austin friars), the five collegiate churches (Trinité, Saint Mainbeuf, Saint Maurille, Saint Pierre and Saint Julien) representatives from the abbeys of St. John the Evangelist and Toussains and the Benedictine foundations of Saint Aulbin, Saint Nicolas and St. Sierge and the colleges of St. Lau and St. Martin. As specified in René's testament of 1474, there were 50 poor chosen to carry the torches before the coffin followed by the cathedral chaplains. The bier itself was borne out of the church of St. Lau by its canons until a point midway between the church and the castle was reached, at which stage

it was transferred to members of the university. Twenty students in black mourning carried the coffin, the pall itself was held by 6 doctors of canon and civil law, with many more doctors holding the cloth of gold upon which rested the king's effigy. Following the remains were the cathedral chapter, the abbots of St. Florent, de la Roue, St. George, Louroux, Chaloché, Pontheron and Toussains with "l'administrateur d'Anjou, les nobles avecques le soubz maire et gens de la justice de ladite ville en grant nombre" bringing up the rear.¹⁶⁹ Given that Louis XI sent written instructions to the town on how the funeral should be organised; it is hardly surprising that it bears strong similarities with the French royal funerary ceremonies, particularly those of Charles VI and Charles VII. The latter's funeral cortege in 1461 ran along similar lines - the mendicant orders and the official mourners (200 in all) to the front, the clergy of Notre Dame and the parishes, representatives from the University, the Chambre des Comptes, the Provost of Paris and the citizens of Paris. Here too, the royal household was relegated to a subordinate role.¹⁷⁰ Like the royal ceremony, there was even the obligatory altercation between the Abbeys of St. Aubin, St. Nicolas and St. Sierge and the colleges of St. Lau and St. Martin, over which should have pre-eminence in the procession. Balthasar notes that this squabble had arisen before "et par espécial quant il y a procession pour l'enterrement des dux et duchesses d'Anjou".¹⁷¹

Just as the funeral cortege invaded urban space and demanded the attentions of both religious and secular, so also the nobleman's

family and household appropriated the church interior for the duration of the event, be it the burial itself or the memorial service on the anniversary. This was, first of all, on a practical level. At Saint Sauveur in Blois, Estienne Jobert, mason, and three helpers spent three days preparing the church to receive the body of Charles d'Orléans - the church paving was lifted up and a grave dug, the earth removed outside the church; a special machine was set up to help lower the body into the grave¹⁷² - much of this work was done in a great hurry overnight. Jehan Adouby and Lorens Davy, with their two valets, hung the funerary drapes around the church and attached the escutcheons to them, setting up the candelabra and lighting the candles for the service. Eight man days were required for the construction of the "chappelle ardente" and other candelabra.¹⁷³ Vestments, lighting, altar hangings - everything was provided at the expense of the prince.¹⁷⁴ Around the church was hung the "litre funeraire" (or "ceinture" or "gouttieres") a long band of black cloth bearing the escutcheons of the deceased. In his testament, René d'Anjou specified that "une litre de bougran [a roughish material made of hemp], ornee et semee des armes dudit Seigneur", be hung all around the interior of the cathedral of St. Maurice "semblable a ceux qui furent mis en ladite Eglise a la sepulture et inhumation de ledite feue Royne Isabelle".¹⁷⁵ Over 176 aunes of black velvet or "bougran" swathed the nave, choir, choir stalls, altars and pulpit on this latter occasion in 1453.¹⁷⁶ Hirtenhaus' description of the 1481 service, mentions that all 28 cathedral altars were draped in black each bearing the cross of Jerusalem and René's escutcheons.¹⁷⁷ Just as his

testament had stipulated, "une sainture" of fine black cloth ran the length of the cathedral, on which were displayed, at close intervals ("pres semées") the escutcheons and crowned arms of the King. Each escutcheon was of burnished gold or silver, illumined by a great torch. Any lugubrious impression we might have from the large quantities of black material purchased for hanging in the church would be totally erroneous. The black served as a backcloth which threw the brilliant colours of the dynastic arms into relief. If black material was for some reason unavailable, or too expensive, the walls were painted black instead. In 1420 Lyvain de la Fontaine was paid 45 livres tournois for 6 gold coats of arms and 200 small escutcheons of the arms of Philippe de Vertus and for having blackened the areas around them on the walls of the church of St. Sauveur.¹⁷⁸ The preparations for a funeral involved the court artists in the hurried manufacture of large numbers of these escutcheons, small and large, which were then hung conspicuously on the walls, attached to the "chappelle ardente", sewn or glued onto the pall covering the coffin and attached to each torch borne by mourners. In 1472 Nicholas Robert produced 10 dozen large escutcheons in the arms of Savoy, for display on the "litre" which hung in St. Eusebius "depuis le grand austie Jusques a la grand porte", plus an additional 10,000 small escutcheons for torches.¹⁷⁹ This almost prodigal repetition of heraldic arms was the means whereby the noble advertised his lineage and laid silent claim to his surroundings.

Further militating against the melancholic or oppressive darkness of the proceedings, was the superabundance of tapers, candles and torches used during the service. Their profusion often caused severe problems of ventilation, and there are several known instances where, in the press of people crammed into the church, windows had to be removed or doors left open to let in air.¹⁸⁰ But clearly the "luminaire" held a special symbolism given the frequency with which requests regarding the amount of wax and number of candles to be used on day of burial, appear in testaments. In 1430 the Statuta Sabaudiae sought to impose limits on the amount of wax used - the "luminaire", "should involve only that which is to be placed on the tomb and that which is necessary for divine office ... the amount of which we have decided should be in accordance with the status and dignity of him for whom the obsequies are held".¹⁸¹ The precise significance of the great volumes of wax often employed has never been satisfactorily explained, though it may firstly derive from the "lumière éternelle" of the Vespers, and secondly be intended to testify to the piety as well as the social condition of the defunct.

Where the testator was desirous to eschew pomp, one of the first areas to suffer was the "luminaire". Louis d'Orléans wished only 4 large bars ("pains") of wax at each corner of his bier and "one large candle weighing as many pounds of wax as I have of years in age on my death".¹⁸² Amédée VIII expressed similar reservations - only 80 torches each weighing 3 lb, forty to be burnt during the memorial service ("sepulture"), the remainder to be distributed among poor churches.¹⁸³ At the other end of the spectrum was the commemorative service held at Vercelli for Amédée IX and his parents

in 1473, where a total of 3538 lb. of wax was used during the ceremony.¹⁸⁴

In fifteenth century Savoy, the internal hierarchy of the ducal family and their court, was reflected in the amount of "luminaire" provided for the funeral service. 250 torches and 4 large candles (752 lb.) were provided for the burial of Lancelot de Lusignan, archbishop of Cyprus and uncle of the duchess Anne,¹⁸⁵ 120 torches (400 lb.) for Duke Louis' sister Bonne de Savoie in 1430,¹⁸⁶ 90 torches (337 lb.) for the infant Anthoine,¹⁸⁷ descending to 50 torches (100 lb.) in 1454 for the infant Louis de Savoie.¹⁸⁸ The household officers and servants also received their quota of "luminaire" on their death. Just as in life, birth and marriage were marked by a gift from the duke or duchess, so the paternalism extended towards the members of the household continued up to death. There seems to have been an accepted rate for each level of servant. When Guillaume Cabuchet, "bouteiller" of Yolande de Savoie died in 1475 at Riveynol, 10 florins was spent on the purchase of 4 torches (10 lb.) for his interment "ainsi qu'il est en hostel de madite dame acostome de donner pour ung chescun officier de ladite maison qui meurt".¹⁸⁹ For middle ranking officers like Philippe de Visques, "ecuyer d'honneur" (died 22 September 1478),¹⁹⁰ Vauthier de Chignin "escuier d'escuierie" (died 28 May 1474)¹⁹¹ or maitre Jehan Jaques, physician (died 16 March 1476)¹⁹² it was customary to offer 24 torches each bearing an escutcheon with the ducal arms and varying between 50 and 70 lb. in weight. Similar provisions and the same stratification probably existed in the courts of Anjou and Orléans, but the surviving evidence is far less complete. Boniface de Mores, a favoured officer of Louis

d'Orléans, who had served him since 1390 and become his "premier ecuier d'ecuièrie", died in 1398 whereupon the entire expenses of his obsequies were defrayed by the duke - vigils in the churches of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Austin friars, burial in the Celestines, Paris, and 50 torches weighing 136 lb.¹⁹³ When the duke's "pannetier" Girart d'Arcy was killed in the Perigord that same year, only 4 large candles weighing 2 lb., probably for placing at each corner of the bier, and 4 others each weighing 1 lb., were provided.¹⁹⁴

To a great degree, the "luminaire" was concentrated on the "chappelle ardente", the focus of the ritual activity. The "chappelle" was a wooden structure which acted as a candelabra above the corpse, or its representation, during the service, whether burial or memorial or other scheduled services, and which was normally "chargée de luminaire en facon de théâtre".¹⁹⁵ A curious iconographical merger of both chivalric and spiritual symbolism, candles alongside escutcheons, the Herald Gilles described it as "le signe que le noble est gentilhomme des quatre lignes, noble a perpetuite".¹⁹⁶ Louis d'Orléans expresses the rarer desire that "no chapel be placed above me or my representation for the placing of wax tapers".¹⁹⁷ The funeral of his son Philippe, c^{te} de Vertus, was more conformist - "A Pierre de Saint Avy ... pour avoir fait ung eschaffaut en facon de chappelle qui fut mis ledit jour dessus la sepulture de feu monditseigneur ouquel ont este mis plusieurs et grant quantite de cierges ardans".¹⁹⁸ René d'Anjou's "chappelle" fully warranted de Hirtenhaus' description of it as "moult belle et magnifique".

Covered in black material, from its roof rose a bell tower topped by a crucifix, and at each corner an angel held a shield bearing the king's arms. Fulfilling its practical function, it was covered with "1000 to 1200 candles weighing 2 lb. apiece". Four large candlesticks holding candles of 9 lb. each in weight were placed alongside this "chappelle". This same lighting was replicated for the burial of the King's heart at St. Bernardin the following day.¹⁹⁹

Slotted into the empty space underneath the "chappelle" was either the coffin containing the corpse, covered by the pall, or an empty coffin to simulate the real one. The burial of René d'Anjou in 1481 is an example of the former - the body in its lead coffin obscured by the crimson cloth of gold pall and topped by the effigy, "fut pousse au meilleu du cueur de ladite eglise, soubz ladite chapelle ardente".²⁰⁰ An example of the latter was the funeral of Philippe de Vertus - the pall of "drap brunete" was placed over the tomb of the count Guy de Blois in the church of St. Sauveur, Blois, "et fut traynant a terre de tous lez et dessous estoit la chapelle ou eschaffaut - representant la sepulture de monditseigneur de Vertus".²⁰¹ The word "representation" has caused no end of confusion, partly because of its ambiguous use by contemporaries. It is really only towards the end of the century that it is more than likely to signify an effigy rather than an empty coffin. Beaune believes that the first reference to the effigy appears in the testament of Louis d'Orléans, where he stated that his body should be displayed with his hands and face uncovered, but if this should prove impossible

("se mon corps ne se pouvoit garder sans trop puyr") then "en soit faicte seulement representation".²⁰² This would be a premature appearance of the effigy, and in any case clearly refers to an arrangement like the "grant coffre de bois ... pour la Representacion" at the obsequies of the comte d'Eu in 1388.²⁰³ In August 1480 at Aix a similar construction was made for the funeral of René d'Anjou - "maistre Pierre" the carpenter, was paid for "bois et taulles [i.e. planks of wood] de la representation de feu monseigneur a mettre le drap d'or dessus".²⁰⁴ Likewise in 1465, at Blois, Guillemin Couse made the "chappelle ardente" and "la sepulture qui fait la Representacion sur le corps" of Charles d'Orléans.²⁰⁵

As one might expect, the situation in Savoy was rather different. There the "chappelle" was rarely set above the body for the interment - the only evidence for this occurring being the burial of Amédée IX when, presumably, the carpenters were able to furnish one within a short space of time.²⁰⁶ At the services of the "neuvaine", "quarantaine" or "sepulture", a structure like the representation beneath the "chappelle" would be required to function as the focus of the ceremony. The term "representation" is however never used, and the "tabernacle", to which the accounts often refer, cannot always be understood as its counterpart. At the "neuvaine" celebrated for Lancelot de Lusignan the tabernacle was clearly the "chappelle ardente", its four pillars and framework painted black by Guillaume "le pintre".²⁰⁷ Its use in the commemoration of 1473 is less explicit. Four ushers in black mourning were positioned "durant

l'office au prez du lit dessoubz le tabernacle".²⁰⁸ Beaune, basing her conclusions on mainly late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century evidence, has described the "tabernacle" as a combination of "lit de parade", coffin and representation.²⁰⁹ It is clear, however, that in Savoy throughout the fifteenth century, there was a certain fluidity of terminology.

No such ambiguity surrounds the appearance of an effigy at René d'Anjou's re-burial in 1481. Despite the excellent state of preservation of the corpse, the royal custom of displaying an effigy during the procession was adopted. The lead coffin holding the remains was sealed up in the litter and hidden from sight by a pall of crimson cloth of gold bordered by black velvet on which were placed a number of escutcheons. Resting on this was the effigy "vestu dung abillement royal de veloux cramoysi obscur, fourre de ermines", bearing the symbols of royalty, the crown, gilded sceptre and orb, "et avecques ce avoit es mains gans chausses et souliers, ainsi qu'il est de coustume es royaux a avoir".²¹⁰ There is no evidence to support that this royal custom had been used in previous burials of the dukes of Anjou, but following the precedent at René's funeral, doubtless at the instigation of Louis XI, the same procedure was adopted, and amplified, for the funeral of his grandson, René II, in 1508.²¹¹

The pall covering the coffin or representation was generally made of extremely rich material - either cloth of gold (costing 500 florins for Yolande de Savoie)²¹² or a simple black velvet bearing a white cross.²¹³ In an effort to cut costs, one of Charles d'Orléans' old robes was cut up and used as the central

panel of his pall.²¹⁴ Often the pall remained in the church until such time as the tomb had been prepared and set in place. The black velvet pall covering the representation of René's tomb in St. Sauveur, Aix, was replaced on his widow's instructions by one bearing the fleurs-de-lis, as the representation "should remain as long as they [i.e. the body and the heart] are removed from the country, as is customary".²¹⁵ The palls themselves became church property and they made a career out of their hiring and loaning out - in 1416 the Franciscans loaned a cloth of gold pall for the "remembrancia" celebrated at Chambéry for Jean, duke of Berry.²¹⁶

During the procession the corners of the pall were held by the close relatives, or chief officers of the deceased. Once inside the church this sometimes became the privilege of the poor torchbearers. In 1445, twenty six torchbearers in white mourning were positioned around the catafalque representing the body of Philippe de Genève at his "sepulture".²¹⁷ The "pauperes Christi" were an essential element of any self-respecting funeral representing another group of intercessors for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Their number depended on the devotion of the individual and the extent of his munificence. They formed two groups. Firstly, a number were hired specifically as official mourners and torchbearers and were given a set of clothes, alms and a meal, for their trouble. White was the preferred colour of their mourning dress. Amédée VIII specified that 100 poor, dressed in white robes each worth 18 gros, should attend his "sepulture".²¹⁸ The material used for their garments was

generally of very inferior quality. 419 aunes of material used in 100 robes and hoods for the poor at the commemoration at Vercelli, 1473, cost only 6 gros the aune.²¹⁹ Their total cost of 223 florins 3 gros was minimal in comparison with the amount spent by Nicholas Robert on the preparation of heraldic bearings for the same event.

Along with the assembled clergy and other mourners, the poor shared the funeral lunch or "prandium". This might entail a simple distribution of bread and wine, as to the 200 torchbearers at the elaborate service held in Notre Dame by Louis XI on the death of his uncle René,²²⁰ or it might involve a more complex meal. The Statuta Sabaudiae, in another concerted attempt to clamp down on "superflua et inutilia", restricted the number of courses to be served to two, for barons.²²¹ Amédée VIII recognised the traditional importance of the meal and directed that after his "sepulture", a meal should be provided "decenter et honeste" for "all and every prelate, monk, priest, knight, squire, cleric and others present, as is the custom".²²² As with every aspect of the noble funeral, the "prandium" was not something to be skimmed on if the honour of the deceased and his lineage was to be preserved. Even that of the penurious Philippe de Vertus in 1420 was arranged on a fairly large scale if we are to judge by the ingredients - 1 cow, 18 sheep, 3 pigs, 3 calves, 3 pheasants, 3 herons, 43 capons, 34 partridges, 99 fowls, 122 chickens, 400 eggs etc.²²³

The second group of poor were those summoned to the obsequies to receive alms in the "donnee commune" or "helemosinam generale".

This was a "not wholly disinterested philanthropy"²²⁴ - in return for alms, the deceased expected prayers. The alms giving was publicised beforehand in order to attract as many as possible. In 1430 at the interment of Bonne de Savoie, alms were distributed to 144 poor who "waited outside the gates [of Haultecombe] while the others ate their lunch [pransiserunt]".²²⁵ The custom in Savoy remained remarkably consistent. At the burial of Amédée VI, four silver plates containing the alms were carried through the church "et offrissoit qui voloit".²²⁶ In 1392, 1404 "gentes-astantes" were the beneficiaries of alms at the funeral of Amédée VII.²²⁷ At that of Amédée IX, the silver plates were placed on the coffin before their distribution.²²⁸ Hence, a funeral was an immensely popular event, where large crowds arrived in the expectation of alms - 3636 in the case of Lancelot de Lusignon's burial at Geneva in 1442.²²⁹ This naturally caused problems - the crush was dangerous, the crowd could prove volatile. In 1437 at the funeral of the count of Armagnac, 4000 people who had arrived too late for alms, changed their prayers into curses.²³⁰ For this reason, René d'Anjou, specified that the alms normally distributed during the service should instead be destined to help unmarried girls for dowries, the sick and homeless living in the fields, lepers, and to hospitals for beds and shrouds, "in order that suffocation, injury, or death does not occur, as had been seen to happen on previous occasions".²³¹

To each individual pauper, the sum received might greatly relieve their poverty for a time, at least, yet in relation to the sums dispensed on all other aspects of the funeral it was often

a very meagre and paltry sum, and one the princely purse could easily afford. The commemoration at Vercelli in 1473, cost at least 21,325 florins, of which 1,134 florins was spent on wax, nearly 2,600 on satins, silks and velvets for vestments and only 1,415 given in alms.²³² This same imbalance is reflected in Louis d'Orléans' testament. Out of a total of 129,850 francs, only 1,000 was destined for the poor - 500 to be distributed to lepers, pregnant women, those unable to work and too ashamed to beg, and 500 for the "donnee commune".²³³ The majority of his testamentary bequests were destined for masses and charities in Paris, Orléans, Chartres, Avignon and elsewhere in France, for the exclusive spiritual benefit of the testator and his family. In receiving alms from their benefactor and returning this gift with prayer, the poor were another sector of society used to assuage the conscience of the testator and enhance his reputation for piety and largesse.

The climax of the noble funeral service was the presentation of the knight's military equipment, or "pièces d'honneur", to the altar during the offering.²³⁴ This was the most forceful intrusion of chivalric ritual into the liturgy of the service, symbolising the "pureté de lignage, la supériorité de la vie militaire noble et celle de l'idéal moral nobilaire".²³⁵ As that part of the obsequies which most characterised the distinctiveness of the noble obsequies it was the focus of considerable ostentation. Apart from Savoy, however, evidence for this custom for the dukes of Orléans or Anjou is noticeably deficient. There may be a

number of reasons for this. No achievements were offered at René d'Anjou's burial at Angers in 1481 because the organisers were intent on emphasizing his regality, as exemplified by the crown, sceptre and orb of the effigy. Similarly, the absence of the king's "chivalric" entourage, the knights and officers of his household, who would normally have played a crucial role in their offering, may have determined this omission. When pious testators eschewed pomp and sought moderation in their obsequies, the chivalric "offrande" was the first to come under attack. Their presentation at the interment of Amédée VIII would have been inappropriate for a cardinal and former pope.²³⁶

The duchy of Savoy demonstrates how strongly the custom was rooted in this feudal enclave, not only in the dynasty itself but in the ethos of their strong-minded feudatories. Typifying their propensity to chivalric ostentation is the testament of Girard de Ternier, knight of the Collar, of 13 June 1418.²³⁷ While hoping "that Our Lord Jesus Christ should not be displeased by the pomp and noise (pompis et turbanciis) of our "sepulture", Ternier prescribes a spectacular parade of 7 horses bearing his escutcheons on their rich trappings of cloth of gold, and knights carrying his pennons and banners and sporting the "mot" of his device, "La plus Belle". Amédée VIII conformed to the spectacular demands of this ritual, when in 1415 he organized the commemoration at Chassaigne for his former governor, Oddon de Villers, sire de Baux. 466 florins at least were expended on banners, pennons, standards and horse trappings

purchased at Lyon, which sum also included 120 florins used to buy back the 10 horses presented during the service.²³⁸

Individual and dynastic honour was so intimately symbolised by the ceremony, that even pious testators found it difficult to abandon it altogether. Jacques de Challand, member of one of the most potent clans in the ducal domains, was one to express such reservations - "the offerings which are customarily made on such occasions ... seem to be done more for worldly pomp than the salvation of souls". Nevertheless, as he does not wish to "undermine the glory of his family" he concedes to the placing of his helm, shield, coat of armour, banner and pennon on his tomb" by night and secretly, without any pomp and ostentation". He imposed, however, a total ban on the offering of horses or their trappings.²³⁹

In 1430 Amédée VIII sought to impose restraints on his vassals' pretensions, a move motivated both by economic considerations and the impelling need to preserve distinctions of status. "So that extravagance and uselessness may be converted to profit and prayer for the dead", proclaimed the Statuta Sabaudiae no more than 10 horses may be offered at the funerals of the duke or his sons, no more than 4 for his barons and only 2 for bannerets.²⁴⁰ These limitations made sound sense where horses were valuable property and their ownership a sign of affluence. Just how ineffective the Statuta were in taming the "superbia" of the Savoyard nobility is suggested by Jean de la Baulme's testament of 1435, requesting the presentation of 10 fully caparisoned horses, the first to be offered by no less than the duke himself or his son the prince of Piedmont.²⁴¹

That the counts and then dukes of Savoy should use the occasion of the "offrande" to underline their ancient lineage and nobility in order to affirm their authority over such potentates, is, therefore, hardly surprising. No chronicle account of their obsequies survive, but the household accounts preserve the payments made to artists and tailors responsible for the manufacture of the "pièces d'honneur". These reveal a striking consistency in the elements of the "offrande" from Amédée VI and Amédée VII to the commemoration of Amédée IX in 1473, but the trend to increasing elaboration and ceremonial noted elsewhere in France receives no such echo in Savoy. A total of nineteen horses and their trappings appeared in the offering of Amédée VI,²⁴² twelve in that of his son.²⁴³ In 1431, one year after the publication of the Statuta, only five horses appear in the "pièces d'honneur" of Amédée, prince of Piedmont,²⁴⁴ five again at the funeral of Philippe de Savoie in 1445. Yet even if their number or order of presentation varied, the elements remain virtually unchanged. First came the banners, horsetrappings and coats of arms bearing the image of the Virgin Mary and the arms of St. Maurice and St. George. These represented the ancient attachment of the dynasty to their chosen celestial patrons. While St. Maurice had for many centuries been regarded as the dynasty's protector, the "annel de St. Maurice" being faithfully handed down from father to son,²⁴⁵ it was the Virgin who was chosen as the venerated protector of the Order of the Collar. St. Maurice and St. George, of course, were ideal knight-types, role models for chivalric society at large. Their banners were offered by knights on

horseback bearing their coats of arms. Immediately after, came the war sword, held by the point, and the sword of Justice, by the hilt, to symbolise the death of the duke but the continuance of his justice.²⁴⁶ Following were his equipment for war - helm, shields, banners and pennons in his arms and those of Savoy.

In 1473 two helms were offered for both Louis and Amédée IX each bearing the arms of St. George and St. Maurice.²⁴⁷ The dukes of Savoy also offered the equipment for peace, i.e. the tournament, a feature of the ceremony sometimes absent elsewhere in France. However appropriate for the counts Amédée VI and VII whose jousting skills fill the pages of the chronicles of Servion and Cabaret, their appositeness to Amédée IX, whose ill health and apparent disinterest in the chivalric skills seems to have disinclined him from partaking in many tournaments, seems more questionable, and suggests that a "house style" was being followed. In 1383, then, the equipment for peace had considerable prominence - both a "cheval de Tournois" and a "cheval pour la Joste" were offered alongside the jousting helm with its crest or "cimier", the winged lion of Savoy. A number of banners bearing the "las d'amours" device were also offered, more numerous in 1473 with the accretion of new devices, when horse trappings, coats of arms, banners and a shield for both dukes appear bearing the 'collar', "love knot" and "fert" devices deriving from the Savoyard order of chivalry and Amédée's own "A" and "Y" [the initials of his own and Yolande's names].²⁴⁸ Their tourney helms were elaborately gilded and painted.²⁴⁹ Bringing up the rear were four knights in black, on horses swathed in long black trappings, carrying black shields

and banners. These represented mourning. In 1473 black mourning robes were made for those "quatre gentilshommes que firent le dueil de monsieur sur les 4 chevaulx noyrs a l'offerte".²⁵⁰

The intermediate funerals of Amédée, Prince of Piedmont, in 1431 and Philippe count of Geneva in 1445, witnessed a reduction in scale, perhaps as the result of the Statuta. Only half of the number of items were offered in each case - only one mounted knight represented mourning at each of their "sepultures". The five horses presented in 1445 were draped in horse trappings and carried knights bearing the banners and coats of arms of St. Maurice, of his own arms, his personal device, and the fifth, the black knight.²⁵¹ In comparison, the commemoration of 1473 involved the manufacture of 22 horse trappings, 23 banners and standards, 14 coats of arms, 16 shields, 12 helmets and 4 helm crests. This profusion of heraldic achievements, does not, however, signify that Savoy falls into the pattern of increasing elaboration and ceremonial that has been noted elsewhere on the continent. If we consider the "offrande" of horses, which Amédée VIII and the Statuta deemed the most wasteful aspect of the ceremony, the evidence turns this argument on its head. A total of nineteen horses and their trappings were offered in 1383, twelve in 1392. In 1431 and 1445, only five were offered in each of Amédée, prince of Piedmont, and Philippe de Genève's "sepultures". In 1473 the crimson and black velvet and white damask used in the confection of "paremens et couvertes" of twenty-two "grans chivaulx" were destined for the services at both Vercelli and Geneva and

represented the achievements of two dukes. It is the funeral of the Green Count in 1383 which remains the Savoyard epitome of the display of lineage and chivalric virtues, during which 15 banners were paraded, the count's war and tournament swords, his standards, pennons and helms both for the joust and tournament and the collar of his order.

In their attempt to endow the ceremony with as much panache as was possible, the dukes of Savoy had the not inconsiderable talents of Jehan Bapteur and Nicolas Robert at their disposal. The fabrication of the "pièces d'honneur" included considerable expense and input in time; hence the wisdom of delaying this ceremony for the "sepulture". In 1419 a large quantity of cloth of gold and silks in a variety of colours was purchased from Milan for the banners and horsetrappings for the sepulture of Louis d'Achaye, costing 1427 florins.²⁵² Five artists were brought in to help Bapteur prepare the achievements for the "sepulture" of Philippe de Genève. He himself spent 36 days making the helm crest, shield, 4 coats of arms and horsetrappings and 300 small escutcheons, for which he was paid 10 florins.²⁵³ Like those produced by Robert in 1473, these were remarkable for the gold and silver leaf and costly azure used in their manufacture. Their art helped dramatically in transforming the obsequies into a "great ceremonial triumph, a final public appearance".²⁵⁴

However colourful and theatrical the offering of the heraldic achievements, the serried ranks of the noble's retinue, clad entirely in mournful black, presented a dramatic and visually striking contrast in the cortege and as they assembled in the

brightly lit church. Black was adopted as the conventional colour of the mourning dress of the nobility in the late fourteenth century, possibly adopted from the black clerical vestments worn at the Office of the Dead.²⁵⁵ Black was universally associated with sadness, a colour, moreover, considered unsuitable for the young.²⁵⁶ According to Dupin writing in the 1470s, the young Amedee VII was persuaded by Charles VI to abandon the black mourning he wore in memory of his father, because "Noir ... procede de douleur" whereas red (and hence his sobriquet, "le Conte Rouge") would encourage him to perform deeds of prowess.²⁵⁷ Towards the mid fifteenth century the colour acquired new shades of meaning. "Je suis celui au coeur vestu de noir" wrote Charles d'Orléans, and as the symbol of melancholy and introspection black was adopted wholeheartedly and worn fashionably at the courts of Anjou and Burgundy. The rich silks and velvets of these garments were very different, however, from the matt woollen cloth used for mourning.

As the prince's retinue bore the colours of his livery during his lifetime, so his death witnessed the distribution of a final "livree de deuil". The provision of robes and the voluminous hoods, for the entire household from chamberlain down to kitchen boy and stable hand, added considerably to the cost of the funeral. Clothing the 258 members of the Angevin household in mourning for Isabelle de Lorraine, amounted to 2,857 livres tournois in 1453.²⁵⁸ In 1465 a total of 2,500 livres were spent on material for 236 servants of the late Charles d'Orléans,²⁵⁹ while 1225 francs provided robes for a core 57 members of Amédée

IX's household in 1472.²⁶⁰ Between October 1422 and April 1423 large quantities of black cloth or "brunete" (a fine quality woollen cloth of blueish-black hue) were purchased in Geneva "pro fiendis vestibus luttis gencium hospiti" for Marie de Bourgogne, duchess of Savoy, costing 2,748 florins.²⁶¹ Each person received only one set of clothes, a robe and hood for the majority, and only a robe for very junior members - the kitchen "galopins", "varlets de charretiers" etc. More than one set of clothing, often involving several items, was the perquisite of the bearers of "grand deuil", that is the close relations of the defunct, or the official chief mourner who led the household in mourning in the cortege. The garments most typifying the "grand deuil" were the "grant manteau a long queue", an almost semi-circular sleeveless cloak and the voluminous hood which enveloped the shoulders and covered the face. These are easily recognisable in numerous illuminations of the Office of the Dead,²⁶² and from the representations on many fifteenth century tombs of "pleurants" or "weepers". The status of the wearer could be interpreted from the length of the cloak's train. Alienor de Poitiers remarked that it was customary for the cloaks of princes and nobles to have trains $1\frac{1}{4}$ aunes in length when in mourning for either of their parents,²⁶³ and the sumptuary regulations of the Statuta Sabaudiae contain equally rigorous directives on the appropriate lengths of garment for each strata of the hierarchy. Long cloaks "trahendos per terram" were the privilege of the duke and his family while barons and bannerets should restrict themselves to robes reaching no lower than the

ankle. The statutes also warn that the barons' wives and unmarried daughters should dress "sine pompa" and thus their skirts should not trail along the ground nor their head-gear descend lower than two digits below their girdle. The ducal secretaries, "maitres des comptes" and clerics must however satisfy themselves with cloaks no longer than mid-calf.²⁶⁴ By these means, subtle distinctions of rank could be conveyed within the apparent uniformity of black. In 1472 Marie and Louise, daughters of the lately deceased Amédée IX, each received a dress "a grant coue devant et derrenier" and "grans manteaulx a coue", symbolising their high status.²⁶⁵ While only 11 aunes of material was required for both girl's mourning dress, as much as 5 aunes were employed in the duchess Yolande's "grant manteau de dueil" with its lining of 500 miniver skins.²⁶⁶ The bearers of "grand deuil" also received significantly more items of clothing than anyone else. Pierre de Bourbon, sgr^r de Beaujeu and fiancé of Marie d'Orléans, was chief mourner at the funeral of Charles d'Orléans in 1465, and consequently received the "grant manteau long de dueil" and hood, a further robe and hood and an outfit for riding ("robe courte a chevaucher"). Louis, Charles' heir, was given only the usual robe, hood and cloak, as his extreme youth excluded him from playing the central role in the obsequies.²⁶⁷

The punctilious attention to the details of the quantity of material and number of items of clothing permitted, was carried over into the quality of the material. As the "livrée de deuil" descended the hierarchy of the household the cloth became cheaper,

the allowance of material meaner. Janus, count of Geneva, Jacques count of Romont and Louis, marquis of Saluces, chief mourners at the obsequies of Louis of Savoy in 1465, were each provided with 12 aunes of fine quality "noir de Menyn" worth 27 escus for their "grant mantel, robe et chaperon". Sharing this more expensive material, but receiving only 4 or 5 aunes, were the court chamberlains, the squires, "maîtres d'hotel" Messire Christofle his almoner, his confessor and Messire Panthaleon one of his physicians, costing approximately 10 escus.²⁶⁸

The household of the new duke Amedee IX fared rather better - the chamberlains, "maitres d'hotel", squires and ladies-in-waiting receiving between 3 and 5 aunes, costing between 17 and 22 francs, the three ducal secretaries ^{being} given robes costing just over 14 francs.²⁶⁹ Lower down the scale, the "menus officiers", the two heralds, Pyemont and Savoye, were given 2½ aunes costing 8 francs, while on the very bottom rung, Regie "trompète", Mathieu the falconer, and "le bastard" stable valet, numbered among those whose robes cost just over 5 francs.²⁷⁰

The same nuances in rank, reflected via the quality of the material and quantity, are seen in the distribution of mourning for

Charles d'Orléans.²⁷¹ Recipients of the most expensive outfits among the household were the Chancellor, and Pierre de Refuge, Governor-General of Finance, amounting to 24 livres 7 sols tournois. The next group included Philippe de Boulainvillier "maitre d'hotel" to Pierre de Beaujeu, Guyot Pot and Jehannet de Saveuses chamberlains, Oudin Pisselen "pannetier", the 5 ducal secretaries, the surgeon and the goldsmith, all receiving fine quality cloth at between 60

and 70 sols the aune. The valets de chambre, Janet Hubelin, Jehan de Brucelles, Guillaume Bidault, Coucy and Camail poursuivants and the cooks were among those whose robes were made of material of 40 sols the aune, those of the "cinq galopins de la cuisine" only 22 sols 6 deniers. Where a distinct group of officers or servants jump out of their natural position in the hierarchy, there was often a good explanation for this. Charles d'Orléans' three pages were dressed in luxury black velvet, costing 100 st. the aune, primarily because of their privileged position within the cortege "apres le corps de feu monditseigneur".²⁷² Their proximity to the catafalque may also explain the "grans Robes" given to the 6 pages of Amédée IX in 1472 sharing the same quality of fabric as the duchess' ladies-in-waiting.²⁷³ Even in a limited distribution of mourning, the pages, because of their functions at court in the constant presence of the prince, often received robes when the gentlemen of the household did not. In September 1478, when the court of Anjou celebrated a memorial service at Tarascon for the late Yolande of Savoy, only René and his queen and his 4 pages are recorded as having been made mourning robes.²⁷⁴ Large distributions of mourning generally occurred only on occasions of "deuil générale", normally reserved for the death of the prince or his wife. In 1469 the death of the duke of Savoy's aunt, Marie de Savoie, duchess of Milan, merited only a distribution to 36 gentlemen and serving ladies, as "le duy l na poent este general sinon seulement par Aucuns singuliers serviteurs de mesditseigneurs et dame".²⁷⁵

The duration of the mourning period was similarly structured. The Statuta laid down a period of 40 days deep mourning for a

parent, 50 for a wife and 20 for a brother, for members of the ducal family. Barons and baronets must limit this time of sorrow to 25 days for parents and only 9 for brothers. By the time the Statuta has arrived at the bottom of the hierarchy, the labourers and artisans are only permitted to wear mourning cloaks and hoods on the day of burial itself.²⁷⁶ The wearing of black, as opposed to the cloak and voluminous garments, continued up to the "missa capitis annis" or anniversary. Where the accepted boundaries were dramatically overstepped, a serious point was often being made. After the Peace of Pontoise, Louis, duke of Guienne sent sets of violet clothes to Charles d'Orléans and his household to ensure that on their entry into Paris they would not wear the mourning black which since 1407 had served as a continual visual reminder of Louis d'Orléans' assassination.²⁷⁷

Women did not attend funerals. Nor would their presence have been appreciated if we are to believe the Statuta - "nec ibi convocabuntur mulieres nec alii superflui et inutiles".²⁷⁸ Certain heraldic treatises imply that the presentation of the "cheval d'honneur" during the offertory was by two of the most "gracieulx et les plus mondains entre dames et damoiselles sans Reprouche de tout lobsecque",²⁷⁹ but this is difficult to support with any hard evidence.

Women, however, bore the brunt of mourning. It was the fate of the prince's widow to be cloistered in her chambers for a period of 6 weeks. This, says Aliénor de Poitiers, is the "custom of princesses".²⁸⁰ These rooms were hung with black tapestries. In most instances these were newly made, but in the interests of

economy some old carpets and hangings were recycled for placing in the great hall and the duchess' two chambers at Blois in 1465. These two chambers were the "grant chambre" where the "lit de parade", also in funereal black, would be displayed, and "la petite chambre ou elle [Marie de Clèves] se tient".²⁸¹ The death of Amédée IX occurred while his wife Yolande was pregnant with their son Galeas. No concessions were made to her condition. New hangings costing 826 francs were made including a cover to place on the bed "ou madame fera sa jessine", and a cradle cover for the new infant. The scarlet borders of a large bed-cover were replaced by black "pour amour du dueil de monsieur le duc".²⁸² Six weeks after her husband's death on 11 May, Yolande was able to leave her chambers at the completion of the "quarantaine", the fulfilment of a rite which was noted rarely in the accounts - "matresredoutee darne saillyt hors ... [and] ... fit dire et celebrer tant ou lesglise de saint euzebe que en chasteau 74 messes basses".²⁸³

To a greater extent than either the baptism or marriage ceremonies, the funeral was the ultimate public celebration of the persona of the prince. The involvement of the whole society in the mourning rituals, both as participants and spectators, induced a powerful sense of identification with the status quo, with naturally, the prince at its apex. Yet the presentation of all three events was placed under certain constraints precisely because of their public nature. The celebration of the high points of the prince's life must suitably reflect his status. Organised to present a favourable image of the prince, they must

also conform to expectations. Rivalry within the peer group, competition from new wealth below, trapped the nobility in an upward spiral of ever increasing expenditure. In the instability of a shifting social climate, they sought assurance by clinging to precedent, tradition and stereo-typed self-images. The personality of the individual was present only in a muted form - personal devices, mottoes and livery - submerged by forceful symbols of lineage and nobility.

This resulted in a certain "freezing" of ceremonial, a greater interest and more rigorous attention to its details, but not always an elaboration. Savoy, which presents more continuity than the patchy evidence of Anjou or Orléans, shows, for the funeral ceremony at least, that quantitative development does not also imply qualitative change. Savoy, of the three courts, was perhaps unusual in the attempt of the Statuta Sabaudiae to set a ceiling on the aspirations of the Savoyard nobility and their cultural expression, giving the ducal dynasty the edge. Yet the Statuta exemplifies, also, the rigidification of the hierarchy and the greater concern with the niceties of distinctions in rank which, all over France, was increasingly demonstrated on the occasions of baptisms, marriages and funerals.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOURNAMENTS, JOUSTS AND "PAS d'ARMES"

Socially exclusive, dramatic and colourful, offering ample opportunity for the parade of fine horses, rich clothing and jewels and the chivalric virtues of prowess and largesse, the late medieval tournament had much to commend it to the prince desirous of advertising his wealth and prestige beyond his immediate court circle. A social as well as martial activity, by the fifteenth century, the tournament was an essential component of any self-respecting aristocratic celebration. "It was the custom", says Anthoine de la Sale, "that when they married, on the birth of an heir, at their coronations and entries into their duchies and domains, to cry tournaments". Respected judge of a number of tournaments in the 1440s, La Sale, writing in the following decade, looks back with nostalgia and bemoans how "now this noble custom of the tournament is greatly neglected, no more so than in this kingdom of France".¹ Yet even the most cursory glance at contemporary chronicles would suggest that his picture is overdrawn. The pages of Monstrelet, La Marche, D'Escouchy, are replete with marvellously detailed reports of spectacular "pas d'armes", tournaments and jousts. The chroniclers naturally focussed their attention primarily on the most magnificent, the national or supranational events, devoting their considerable descriptive talent to the display of costly materials and extravagant retinues such occasions demanded. This bias of the chronicles has fed the view that the tournament

became increasingly disengaged from war, for which it was originally a preparation, and that the nobility became more concerned with its ceremonial and parade than the actual combat, a stance Ruth Harvey has summarised succinctly. "The form divorced from its inner substance becomes an empty and artificial show, the spirit deprived of its outward means of expression shrivels and decays. This happened to the tournament in the later Middle Ages and accounts for the paradoxical situation that, at a time when surface elegance and refinement were being carried almost to excess, the underlying temper was degenerate".²

We shall see plenty of this "surface elegance" in the tournaments of Louis d'Orléans or the "pas" of René d'Anjou, both princes latching on to current vogues for chivalric "fastes" during the hiatus in war at the end of the fourteenth century and in the 1440s. But these are only the tip of the iceberg. The household accounts of all three courts, Anjou, Orléans and Savoy, reveal a profusion of non-spectacular tournament activity which did not make the pages of the chronicles. It is true that these accounts may often only complement the clarity of a chronicle account and by themselves can never entirely compensate for their absence, but they do provide precious indicators of smaller jousts and tournaments. Late medieval chivalry still adhered in principle to Geoffrey de Charny's hierarchy of the ascending importance of the joust, the tourney and war,³ and the first was still recognised as valuable in the training of young squires. The experience of the eponymous hero of La Sale's Petit Jehan de Saintré, was intended to highlight this progression. Saintré

tests his mettle in a series of jousts against firstly, the Spanish Sir Enguerrant, the Polish Lord of Loysseseuch, an elaborate "pas d'armes" against the English and a combat "à l'outrance" (fought with unblunted weapons) against the Baron of Tresto, before undertaking his most serious challenge, actual battle in the crusade to Prussia, during which campaign, he is knighted.⁴ The accounts, too, throw up evidence of the continued function of the joust as a training exercise. In April 1398, sixteen squires from the household of Louis d'Orléans were furnished with robes, harness and shields bearing the ducal device of the wolf, for their participation in jousts held at the royal Hôtel St. Pol.⁵ Similarly in Savoy in March 1445, the lists were prepared for jousts pitting the ducal pages against those of Jehan Dallion, and those of the "Juennes chivaliers et escuyers de lostel".⁶ A significant number of those taking part in René d'Anjou's "Pas de la Bergière" in 1449, were likewise drawn from the youthful squirearchy of his court.⁷

The staging of, or participation in tournaments of any complexity or elaboration had become increasingly outwith the purse of many of the fifteenth century nobility, squeezed financially and burdened on such occasions by the pressure to display one's wealth on one's back. In the thirteenth century, Ramon Lull had written, "it befits a knight to speak and to dress beautifully and to have beautiful arms and to have spacious lodgings as all these things are necessary for the honour of chivalry".⁸ Lull was still widely read in the fifteenth century, a century in which the emphasis on self-presentation

in a society which equated lifestyle and wealth with nobility, demanded extravagant disbursements in terms of armour, horse-trappings, rich costume for oneself and one's retinue, and open-handedness to all and sundry, but especially to a plethora of heralds and minstrels.⁹ Armour, too, had become more specialised and costly. The joust necessitated the "frog-mouthed" helm, the painted and polished shield which allowed the lance to glance off on contact, protective armour for all areas of the body, the elaborate helm crest or "cimier" depicting the personal device or caprice. Ownership of a "cheval de joute", not interchangeable with the "cheval de guerre", was a potent status symbol. De Gamez comments with admiration on the stables of the elderly Renaud de T r i e, containing some twenty horses for war and the joust.¹⁰ For the court of Savoy, borrowing these prized mounts was one way around the expense of maintaining them. When jousts were cried to celebrate the arrival at Chambéry of Mathilde d'Achaie in 1418, valets were dispatched to the Duke of Bavaria, the Bishop of Lausanne, the Abbot of St. Anthoine de Viennois and the seigneur de la Chambre, to fetch suitable horses.¹¹

The princely courts, centres of wealth and patronage, increasingly assumed the role as sponsors of the tournament. However, at its most flamboyant and ostentatious, the tournament was a medium for the communication of wealth and status which not all princes chose to exploit. Personal enthusiasm for such martial exercises was a vital factor in René d'Anjou's patronage of the tournament in the 1440s, just as Charles d'Orléans return from

captivity in England "tout gris vieillard"¹² and with a preference for "jousts" of the poetic and literary variety, proved unpropitious for the tournament in his domains. The fifteenth century Savoyard dukes were singularly indifferent to their cultivation, surprising when we consider the tourneying reputations of their forebears the Green and Red Count, commemorated and glorified in the chronicles of Cabaret, Servion and Dupin. Although one suspects that Amédée VIII's personal interest in the tournament was as deep rooted as his enthusiasm for war, he was not oblivious to their uses for serious self-promotion. An anonymous chronicler provides a tantalising glimpse of the duke turning metaphorical somersaults in an effort to impress his nephew, Philip the Good, during his visit to Savoy in 1422.¹³ Preparations for this visit had begun several months in advance, tapestries were brought to Thonon from Pinerolo, pavillions from Chambéry, horses for the joust were borrowed from the Dukes of Milan and Bavaria, the Marquises of Montferrat and Saluzzo and the Bishops of Vercelli and Turin.¹⁴ Unfortunately the chronicler glosses over the "nouvelles facons de joustes et tournois estranges", the "combats de toutes manieres d'armes" and a simulated naval battle on Lake Geneva to dwell at greater length on the ferocious combat between bears and a number of large dogs brought back from England by the Emperor Sigismond.¹⁵

The Treasurer's accounts record the incidence of some dozen or so jousts or tournaments between the years 1400 and 1434, small scale in the main, only those in 1418 in honour of Mathilde d'Achaie and those in 1422, involving significant preparation.

Under Louis, Amédée IX and Yolande, their number falls away dramatically - only four are recorded between 1434 and 1465 and a further half dozen or so before Yolande's death. In the second half of the fifteenth century the trend was moving towards a preference for indoor entertainments, performed in the privacy and exclusivity of the banquetting hall, a trend particularly marked during Yolande's regency. The ascetic Amédée IX had no interest in anything remotely martial or chivalric. Yolande shared her husband's artistic interests and an enjoyment of theatricals which found expression in "mommeries" rather than tournaments or "pas d'armes". On the two occasions where more elaborate tournaments are suggested, we are again hampered by the reticence of the eye-witnesses. In February 1466, Yolande organised a tournament at Chambéry lasting two days. Four knights held a passage ("sonno quattro che terano tavolo") against twenty assailants with weapons of war ("se puo portare che arme se volle de bataglie et correre quanto se volle a lanze moze"). The prizes were conventional if not very costly - a diamond costing 10 escus for the best jousting, the kiss of the ladies for the runner-up, and a hat for third prize.¹⁶ More flamboyant, appears to have been the tournaments ("torneamenta et hastiludia multa") staged at Geneva the same year for the marriage of Janus de Savoie to the comte de St. Pol's daughter. Again our source, the Cronica Latina, does not flesh out his account except to tell us that many were wounded and a number killed.¹⁷ Partly because of the paucity of large scale tournaments in Savoy at this period, certainly of those

significant enough to attract an international attendance, Savoyard knights sought fame in the lists abroad. Both Jacques de Challant and Jean de Compeys, seigneur de Thorens, performed impressively at the Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne, near Dijon in 1443.¹⁸ It was only towards the end of the century that the tournament underwent a revival under the auspices of the duke Charles le Guerrier, whose court nourished the talents of the young Pierre Terail, better known as the Chevalier Bayard.¹⁹

The association of tournaments and the joust with the training of young knights and squires meant that the court of a young prince, naturally preferring to surround himself with young courtiers, was a fertile ground for their promotion. Between the years 1389 and 1415, the French royal court was in the thick of the whole gamut of knightly combat - from jousts and "emprises d'armes" to crusades and the war against the English, topped and tailed by the spectacular tournaments of 1389 and the chivalrous debacle of Agincourt. The physical proximity of the court of Orléans to that of Charles VI during this period was a vital influence on the participation in tournament activity of the two dukes. In 1415, Charles d'Orléans' appearance in the "moult belles joustes" in Paris, organised as part of a programme of entertainments in honour of the English embassy seeking the hand of Catherine de France, marked a further step in his reintegration into the royal court after years of ostracisation during the internecine warfare following 1407.²⁰

For Louis, too, the flourish of jousts and tournaments which characterised the years 1389 to 1392, witnessed the period of his closest relationship with his brother.

Contamine has described these years, from Charles VI's emancipation to his first mental crisis, as "l'age d'or des tournois ... celles du règne où eurent lieu les joutes à la fois les plus fréquentées, les plus nombreuses et les plus brillantes".²¹ Those staged in 1389, in May at Saint-Denis and in August to celebrate Isabeau de Bavière's entry into Paris, where Charles and twenty nine companions jousted as "les chevaliers du Ray du Soleil d'Or" remained unsurpassed in France for over fifty years.²² Charles' passion and aptitude for the joust is well attested. Alongside Charles' other faults of carnal lust, dislike of wearing the official royal robes, and his habit of adopting the Bohemian or German manner of dress, the Religieux de St. Denis cites his continued participation in jousts after having received the Holy Unction.²³ Louis, though he did not share his brother's zeal, was nevertheless caught up in the chivalric and youthful exuberance of his court.

Only seventeen in 1389, Louis was just emerging from the shadow of his elder brother. As Duc de Touraine, he now assumed personal government of his apanage and made his first appearance in the royal council.²⁴ Yet the cluster of officers and companions gathered around his person cannot yet be said to constitute a court with a separate identity from his brother's. Given his own "Hôtel de Bohême" by Charles the previous year, Louis nevertheless preferred to spend most of his time, while

in Paris, at his brother's "Hôtel St. Pol" on the other side of the city.²⁵ Constantly in each other's companionship, Charles and Louis held court at the centre of a coterie of young nobles who shared their enthusiasms. Restricted in number, they nevertheless shone in the lists, on the battlefield, their exploits immortalised on the pages of Froissart or in the poems of Deschamps - men such as Boucicaut the younger and Regnault de Roye heroes of the jousts of Saint-Inglevert. Their youth and high spirits found expression in tournaments and on more destructive occasions such as the fiasco of the "Bal des Ardents".²⁶ Christine de Pizan, always indulgent towards her patron, describes Louis, surrounded by "moult belle de gentilz hommes jeunes, beaulx, jolis et bien asseismes, tout apprestes d'euls embesoigner pour bien faire".²⁷ Froissart was more critical. Passing through Avignon in 1390, Charles and Louis renewed their friendship with Amédée VII whose acquaintance they had made the previous year at the jousts of St.-Denis. According to Froissart, the three, "jeunes et de legier esprit", spent their days and nights, "en danses et en caroles et en esbatemens".²⁸

Evidence survives of only three tournaments organised under Louis' auspices, all three falling into the years 1389 to 1392. If these in any sense approached the scale of his brother's, it was insufficient to attract the attention of the chroniclers and the meagre information from the accounts betray little of their luxury. The first, on 6 and 7 March 1390, was arranged to celebrate his return from Languedoc. Charles and Louis had

held a competition to see who could be the first to reach Paris, Charles accompanied only by Jean de Garençières, Louis by Pierre de la Viesville ("Or chevaucherent ces quatres qui estoient jeunes").²⁹ The jousts were attended by the King and Queen and their household: "dymanche vi jour de mars le Roy la Royne, tous nos seigneurs dames et damoiselles en lostel monseigneur de Thoraine et y ot ce jour grans joustes de chevaliers".³⁰ The first day was restricted to the combats of the knights, the second was reserved for the squires, the prize carried off by "Dobit le Behaignon" ("qui forjousta la feste"), who, if not already in Louis' household, was later to serve as his "echanson".³¹ The following year, in July, Louis held jousts at the Hôtel de Bohême to celebrate the "relevailles" of his wife after the birth of their second son,³² whilst the memory of a further tournament, in February 1392, is preserved only in the record of the prizes purchased to present to the winners - a gold goblet encrusted with sapphires and pearls for Boucicaut "le jeune" (worth 117 francs), a gold and sapphire brooch with nine pearls for the King (80 francs) and a diamond ring for Jehan Desgreville (16 francs).³³

Although Louis' presence is noted at a number of tournaments during this period, he did not enjoy the same success in the lists as Charles VI, nor indeed, that of many of his officers. The marriage of the King's secretary, Jean de Montagu, at Villiers near Neauphle-le-Château, in July 1390, was celebrated appropriately with two days of jousts. Louis encharged two of his officers, Boniface de Mores and Enguerran de Marconnay, with the purchase

of the necessary armour and equipment - "rondelles" protecting the joints of the armour from blows, "rochez" or ratchets to blunten the end of the lance and "gaignepains" or gauntlets. Marconnay, Louis' "premier escuier d'escuierie", was one of the prizewinners.³⁴ These were "joutes courtoises" or "a plaisance", fought with blunted or rebated weapons. A similar shopping list was prepared for the jousts celebrating Valentine's "relevailles" in 1391. On such occasions, the emphasis was on the entertainment value rather than serious, to the death combat, although at times the latter spilled over into the former. The spectacular nature of the joust which pitted the skill of the knight in one-to-one combat with his adversary, a perfect means of highlighting individual prowess, had already assured its success as the combat "par excellence" of such celebrations. At this date, however, too much should not be made of the divergence between the "joute à plaisance" and "joute à l'outrance", the former not yet the stylised exercise of its later successors. In France, Diaz de Gamez noted "they joust without lists and strike after the fashion of war. It often happens that one horse runs against another and one falls, or that they both fall. It is a most perilous jousting and one that all men do not attempt but only those who are very skilful and very good horsemen".³⁵

The King's sudden illness dramatically curtailed the four year interlude of chivalric extravaganza. But, in any case, with any number of military campaigns on the go, or projected, there was little need for the tournament. "Jouste et tournois en guerre n'est qu'erreur", says Deschamps voicing widespread opinion.³⁶

Louis, though thwarted from personal participation in these campaigns, was their most active and vociferous supporter - providing money and men for the Duke of Bourbon's Barbary crusade in 1390,³⁷ subsidizing the Prussian crusade of 1391³⁸ and the Nicopolis crusade of 1396.³⁹ The story is told, apocryphal perhaps, of how Louis knelt before his brother in the royal council and begged to be allowed to fight the infidel. In his absence, however, many of his officers were actively involved in all three campaigns, though it was in a number of "emprises d'armes" held closer to home that they gained particular prominence.

Barely tolerated "combats a l'outrance", the "emprises d'armes" flourished during periods of truce with the English. Shorn of the social elements, the presence of women and the entertainments of the "combats à plaisance", little attempt was made to disguise antagonism for the enemy behind the veil of courteous combat. In the absence of war, they were its nearest equivalent, often degenerating into a wholesale battle, and had a long career on the marches of France as well as on the Scottish/English border.

In June 1400, Louis gave his "ecuyer d'ecurie", Hector de Pontbriant, 300 francs "pour le fait et voyeaige de certaines armes qui au plaisir de dieu je entend presentement faire en angleterre".⁴⁰ Just two months later, the duke was present at Brie - Comte-Robert to witness the encounter of his "premier ecuyer de corps" Ogier de Nantouillet, with an English knight.⁴¹ But it was the "emprise" known as the "Combat de

Montendre" of 19 May 1402, where seven of Louis' officers clashed with seven Anglo-Gascon knights in the Saintonge, which really fired the imagination and inspired the normally pacific Christine de Pizan to write three laudatory poems in honour of the French victory.⁴² According to Juvenal des Ursins, it was Jean de Harpedenne, marshall of the Saintonge, who relayed the desire of the English to engage in arms with the French in this frontier zone. The seven who leapt at the opportunity - Armand Guilhem de Barbazon "le chevalier sans reproche", Guillaume du Chastel, Archambaud de Villars, Clignet de Brébant, Guillaume Bataille, Yves de Karouis and Guillaume de la Champaigne - first sought Louis' authorisation of their undertaking, which he was happy to accord, "soy confiant de leurs prouesses et vaillances", though taking no risks, he prayed for their victory in St. Denis.⁴³ The struggle was bitter, lances were speedily rejected in favour of the weapons of close combat, the axe and sword. At the end of the day, the French were victorious, but a number of combatants had been severely injured and Robert Scales, leader of the English team, lay dead on the field. On their triumphant return to Paris, Charles VI presented each of the victors with 1000 francs.⁴⁴ Through the enterprises of his courtiers, Louis acquired a measure of vicarious prestige. Christine de Pizan, in one of her celebratory poems addressed to Louis, enthuses:

"Que de renon par le monde fait luire,
De vostre cour raemplie de noblesce,
Qui resplendist comme chose florie,
En noble los ... de hault honneur et de chevalerie".⁴⁵

Louis' own efforts to achieve personal honour and renown against the English were crowned with significantly less success. In August 1402, he sent a challenge to his former ally, Henry of Lancaster, now Henry IV, inviting him to meet him near Bordeaux with one hundred knights and squires. Louis' gives the reason that "en regardant l'oisivite en quoy plusieurs seigneurs se sont perdus, extrais de royale lignee, quant en fais d'armes n'e s'emploient, jeunesse qui mon cuer requiert d'emploier en aucuns fais pour acquerir honneur et bonne renommee me fait penser a de present, commencer a faire le mestier d'armes". Henry refused point blank, destroying their previous alliance ("tenons pour nulle amitie, amour, aliance doresnavant, et ce en vostre default") and cuttingly declared that it was beneath his dignity to fight a duke - "aucuns de nos nobles progeniteurs roys ait este ainsi infeste par aucunes personnes de mendre estat qu'il n'estoit lui mesmes". A further challenge was issued by Louis in March the following year, this time detailing specific accusations, particularly Henry's usurpation of Richard II and his shabby treatment of Louis' niece and future daughter-in-law, Isabelle de France. This provoked a stinging reply, but the challenge was not met and Louis was deprived of an opportunity to prove his valour against the enemy.⁴⁶

As the rivalry between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orléans heated up, the "emprises d'armes" slid perilously close to outright acts of war. On two occasions Charles stepped in and asserted his authority. Diaz de Gamez recounts how the six surviving victors of Montrendre wrote to Pero Ninõ inviting

him, "for the honour of knighthood and the love of your lady", to join them in their challenge against Ponce en Perellos who "bears the White Lady embroidered on his apparel and a golden bracelet to despise the knights of my lord the duke of Orléans". Though couched in courteous terms, clearly deeper antagonisms lay behind the challenge. Charles VI "informed of what was taking place and of the discord already beginning", immediately vetoed the combat and stage managed a reconciliation between the Knights involved and the Dukes of Orléans and Burgundy.⁴⁷

On a second occasion, the publication of a joust throughout France by three of Louis' household, Jean de Garençières, Raoul de Boqueaux and François de Grignaulx, appeared to pose a threat to stability and provoked the issue of a royal decree. Issued on 27 January 1406, Charles prohibited the jousts on the grounds of "les haynes, debas et controverses qui pour occasion de ce, seroient en voie de mouvoir entre eulx ou aultres".⁴⁸ The gravity with which these "emprises" were viewed takes us a long step away from the festivities of the years 1389 to 1392. If, in his youth, Louis willingly shared his brother's enthusiasms, in his mature years, he was more prone to the "grandes gestes" of his challenges to Henry IV. For Louis, the tournament, however pleasurable an activity in itself, could not match or replace the more serious business of war.

After decades of unrelenting war between France and England, the signing of a truce at Tours in 1444, ushered in a period of welcome calm and a renewed golden age for the tournament. The years 1445 to 1447 in particular, witnessed a rash of tournaments

and "pas d'armes" whose brilliance taxed the descriptive powers of the chroniclers. The King of France, the princes and great lords, wrote Mathieu d'Esconchy, "se commencerent a mettre sus pluseurs joustes ... et aussy aultres esbatemens de grans coustaiges et despans, affin de entretenir leurs gens en l'exercice des armes et aussy pour passer temps plus

joyeusement".⁴⁹ The convergence of the French nobility on Nancy in 1445 for the marriage of Marguerite d'Anjou, on Châlons, on Razilly the following year for the "Pas de la Gueule du Dragon", on Saumur for the "Pas de Joyeuse Garde", and Tours and Bourges in 1447, might, at first sight, suggest the heady atmosphere of the years 1389 to 1392. But Charles VII, unlike his father, was no aficionado of chivalry and the initiative for the rejuvenation of the tournament lay with the cadet courts of Anjou and Burgundy.

This was the period "par excellence" of the "pas d'armes". The most spectacular outgrowth of the tournament, combining courtly, theatrical, ceremonial and ludic elements, beloved of the nobility and chroniclers alike, they have with some justification been called "éphémères festivals du paraitre".⁵⁰ Literary and dramatic themes had of course joined forces with the tournament much earlier, with the Round Tables of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and wherever the aristocracy met in celebration, ceremonial and the flagrant flaunting of wealth and status were never very far away. Notwithstanding the undeniable emphasis on self-display in the "pas", they do, however, exemplify many trends at work in late medieval aristocratic society, its

concentration around the court, its increasing caste consciousness and elitism and the equating of the external display of wealth, through clothes and other accoutrements, with inner nobility.

The expenditure involved in the staging of a "pas d'armes" was prohibitive and something only the upper echelons of the nobility could contemplate. The theatrical props, the lists and stands for spectators and judges, the pavilions for the combatants constituted only a minor proportion of the total expense. Any self respecting "pas d'armes" was accompanied, like the earlier Round Tables, by a succession of banquets, entremets and dances. The Seigneur de Charny, "chef et fournisseur" of the "Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne" in 1443, though undoubtedly with the financial backing of his lord and future father-in-law, Philip the Good, prepared three castles in the environs of the "pas": Parigny for the entertainment and lodging of himself and his companion "tenants", Marcenay "pour festoyer toutes gens a toutes heures" and Conchy "a festoyer ceux qui avoyent fait armes audict pas". Each was tapestried, furnished and provided with a full complement of staff.⁵¹ The logistics involved in the organisation of complex events like de Charny's, was a problem with which only the infrastructure of major courts could cope, equipped with numerous officers, craftsmen and artists well versed in the stage-management and the organisational minutiae of large scale celebrations. This does not mean, however, that the princely courts were immune from cash flow problems on such occasions. There were limitations on René d'Anjou's largesse. In 1449, after the "Pas de la Bergiere", he required each participating knight to

contribute his share of the expenses. When this did not cover the cost, displaying sensibilities unusual in a fifteenth century prince, René wrote to his "maitre d'hotel" requesting a hasty infusion of funds, "je ne veux pas quitter la ville sans que tout le monde soit contente".⁵² When René opened his Traité des Tournois with the stipulation, "qui veut faire un tournoi, il faut que ce soit quelque prince ou du moins haut baron ou banneret", it was as much a tacit recognition of an economic fact as a question of social snobbery.⁵³

Finance effectively disbarred many from the lists who, in other respects, were fully qualified. The cost of participating in tournaments continued to escalate during the course of the fifteenth century. Participation brought with it an obligation to present oneself in a manner befitting one's rank. The emphasis on self-display was not simply a question of individual honour. When Jaques de Challant attended the "Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne" in 1443, accompanied by a numerous and eyecatching cortege, mounted on fine horses and expensively caparisoned "si richement que merveilles", the intention was to exalt "his prince, Savoy and his family" as well as himself.⁵⁴ The importance of costly materials consuming a large proportion of the noble income, as external indicators of wealth, power and social status, cannot be overstressed. The zest with which the chroniclers describe the garments and accoutrements of the tourneyers, and in great detail, was by no means otiose. Leseur's descriptions of Gaston IV's many daily changes of clothing during the tournament at Nancy in 1445 spoke volumes to onlookers

of the man's situation in life. In Tirant lo Blanc, the Emperor concludes from the magnificent entry into the lists of the disguised Diaphebus, attended by thirty gentlemen and twelve pack mules in silks and brocades, that he must be "a mighty foreign king or a prince", and only those knights whose horses bore silk, brocade or beaten gold trappings were permitted to challenge the Emperor's champions.⁵⁵

The increasing inability of growing numbers of the nobility to meet the vestimentary criteria of the tournament does not, however, by itself explain the contraction of the tourneying society. The "pas d'armes" in particular, with its emphasis on the lineage of the participants, mirrors the intensifying caste consciousness of the nobility in society as a whole. In the chapters of Saintr  's "pas d'armes" it is stressed that each challenger must present "letters from his King or prince royal, with seal appended, declaring that he is a gentleman of birth and coat armour".⁵⁶ Hereditary qualifications were made manifest in the display of armorial bearings and other heraldic insignia. Their rise to prominence at the tournament greatly assisted the careers of the heralds. In the fifteenth century they were regarded as the repositories of knowledge on the arms of the nobility and skilled organisers of tournaments. La Sale recalls how at Nancy in 1445, Ren   d'Anjou's command that all participants must display "leur haichemens naturelz sur leurs heaumes et leurs lampequins et escus couvers de leurs armes" sent several "simple gentilzhommes" into a panic as they could not remember how to emblazon their arms. La Sale was able to advise some and pointed

others in the direction of the Kings-at-Arms and heralds "qui par raison de leurs offices le devoient mieulx savoir, ou par livres, dont ilz a telz choses principalement doivent estre garnis".⁵⁷

Both La Sale's and René's desire to purge the lists of ignoble elements reflects, however, a Germanic rigour rather than contemporary French practice. The display of pennons, banners and arms at the "helm show" preceding the tournament and permitting the verification of aristocratic descent and the detection of those whose actions were contrary to honourable chivalric conduct, a ritual described at length in the Traité, finds direct equivalents in Germany. Similarly, the list of reproaches which the two authors pinpoint as incurring disqualification, has its Germanic parallel. Fairly comprehensive, the list includes, perjury, usury, marriage beneath one's station, heresy, slander of women, murder, cowardice and the leadership of free companies.⁵⁸

The Traité, guiding us step by step through the complex order of ceremony of the tournament, thereby highlights the role of the herald - in its publication, in the maintenance of rolls of arms, the inspection of arms and crests, the calling of the combatants to the lists and a host of other duties. The heralds were also responsible for keeping a written record of all deeds of prowess performed in the lists. At the "Pas du Chateau de la Joyeuse Garde", the two Kings-at-Arms, carried before them their "Books or Cartularies of Honour".⁵⁹ Hardly had Saintré ended his joust with Enguerran de Cervillan, than Aragon King-at-Arms "in the presence of all, read the tale of those jousts, every course and every stroke well set down in writing".⁶⁰ The heralds

too, noised the achievements of individual knights abroad and were consequently well rewarded at tournaments in anticipation of services to be rendered.⁶¹ Damp Abbé's snide remarks about knights who leave court, ostensibly to perform jousts, but in reality bound for Germany or Sicily, and who, at the end of summer, "have an old minstrel or trumpeter that beareth an ancient tabard of arms and give him one of their old gowns, and he cryeth at the Court "My Lord hath won", were calculated to incense the honourable Saintré.⁶²

An international body, the heralds' knowledge of ceremonial at other courts was extended by their peregrinations, the expertise acquired, much appreciated by their masters. In 1402 Amédée VIII's herald "Savoye" was sent to the court of the Duke of Austria "pro videndo quodam torneamento quod facere preposit idem Dux",⁶³ and even the dauphin Louis dispatched his herald "Viennois" to the "Pas de la Bergière", "pour veoir le pas".⁶⁴ The desire of the princes to win the favourable reports of visiting heralds may be gauged from the considerable payments made them on such occasions. In 1390 at the wedding of Jean de Montagu, Louis d'Orléans distributed the princely sum of 100 francs among the attendant heralds and minstrels.⁶⁵ The ever astute Amédée VIII rewarded his nephew's heralds all of 104 florins on Philip the Good's visit to Thonon in 1422, whilst the remaining heralds, trumpeters and minstrels received only 25.⁶⁶

The Traité has often been singled out for particular criticism for its concentration on the ceremonial and ritualistic aspects of the tournament, rather than the combats themselves, although

contemporary chronicles display a similar "imbalance".⁶⁷ A striking example of this is the description of the tournament at Smithfield in 1467 where the letters of challenge, proclamations and processions to the lists amount to thirty four pages, the combat only one.⁶⁸ The criticism levelled at René is partly unfair as treatises dealing with the practical aspects of the joust or tournament are extremely rare - Duarte of Portugal's The Art of Good Horsemanship written c.1434 a notable example.⁶⁹ René, in his Traité, may digress into the area of tournament armour, but he does not presume to instruct the nobility how to fight. His viewpoint is primarily that of the herald, hence it is not surprising that his detailed descriptions of the internal pecking order of the processions of knights, judges and heralds, should find their mirror in contemporary heraldic treatises on funerals, reports on princely "entrées" and the processions of the secular orders of chivalry. Every noble procession was visually ostentatious - louder, larger and more colourful than that of any other sector of society. According to the Traité, "princes, seigneurs ou barons qui voudront deployer leur banniere du tournoi doivent mettre peine detre accompagnees principalement a l'entrée qu'ils feront en la ville, de la plus grande qualité de chevaliers et ecuyers tournoyants qu'ils pourront rassembler". Music too had an important function. The tourneyers are to be heralded by trumpets and minstrels "cornant et sonnand ou jouant dautres instruments tels qu'il leur plaira".⁷⁰ The purpose of the ceremonial was to enhance the physical combats at the core of the event, rather than detract from them. La Marche,

justifying his description of the ceremonial preliminaries at the "Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne", uses the defence that this was the first "pas" he had witnessed, and also he wished to "avertir et apprendre les lisans des nobles ceremonies appartenans aux nobles et recommandes mestiers d'armes".⁷¹

For many historians, René d'Anjou's name is synonymous with the "pas d'armes". A devotee of the tournament in all its forms, he indulged his interests to the full in the 1440s in the spectacular jousts and entertainments at Nancy, the "Pas de la Joyeuse Garde" at Saumur, the "Pas de la Bergière" at Tarascon, taking a more concrete shape in the Traité des Tournois. Opinion varies as to the precise dating of the Traité. Internal evidence, namely its dedication to René's brother, Charles du Maine, as comte de Guise, makes its composition before 1444 impossible, and it is most likely that it postdates René's patronage of the "pas", and therefore some time after 1454. The same love of ceremony, respect for the niceties of hierarchy and status and a punctilious attention to rules and regulations, which suffuse the Traité, are evident also in the "pas" of the 1440s, and in his other chivalric creation of that decade, the Order of the Crescent. Beauvau in his poem celebrating the "Pas de la Bergiere" sketches a cameo portrait of this lover of tournaments, who delighted in displaying his knowledge and expertise:

"Bien se voulu, des joustes regarder,
Et de chascun les drois faire garder,
Car il y prit grant plaisance et deduit".⁷²

Contrary to what one might expect, however, the Traité does not describe a typical "pas d'armes" but the less theatrical "mêlée"

or "tournoi". Cosmopolitanism was a trait of his personality, and hence ^{of} his court; thus it is not surprising that the fictional tournament he describes in meticulous detail, between the adherents of the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon, should be an amalgam of the customs of Flanders, Brabant, Germany and France ("les anciennes facons que l'on avait coutume aussi de faire en France, comme j'ai trouve en ecritures"). The overwhelming influence is nevertheless Germanic. The ideal tournament he proposes has been modelled "au plus pres de celle qu'on garde es Allemaignes".⁷³ This goes far to explain his choice of the "mêlée" (close combat in the lists of two opposing teams), which remained immensely popular in Germany. The description of a tournament held at Schaffhausen, near Basle, in the 1430s by a Spanish diplomat Pero Tafur contains a number of parallels with the Traité: the gathering of the nobles and ladies for the helm show,⁷⁴ the disqualification on account of marriage to women of lower birth, seizure of goods of a minor, or dishonour to women, and the physical beating to any knight guilty of such crimes,⁷⁵ and finally the exclusion from the tourney of those without "known escutcheon". Tafur comments, "This is a good and worthy custom, since thereby everyone knows who can lay claim to chivalry and high lineage, and those who have been guilty of base deeds may be brought to shame".⁷⁶ René may have sought to introduce a measure of the German preoccupation with descent and chivalrous behaviour, so rigorously adhered to at their tournaments, into French practice. Both he and his henchman La Sale write with a touch of nostalgia and a desire to rejuvenate the tournament in

France. This missionary enthusiasm partly explains his patronage of the "pas d'armes" of the 1440s, but deeper currents were also at work. If the Traité seems imbued with an acute perception of the prerequisites of status, this is because status, and particularly his own vexed title of King of Sicily and Jerusalem, was René's major preoccupation of the years following his return from Italy in 1442.

René's defeat in Italy was a source of disappointment, certainly, but his return to France opened up new possibilities. The entrenched position of his brother Charles du Maine, and a number of other high ranking Angevins, within the royal council, effected an entree for René into the royal favour, a route not open to Charles d'Orléans a few years earlier, with his Burgundian associations.⁷⁷ René's new found intimacy with his brother-in-law was made symbolically manifest on a number of occasions. Their entrance into Tours cathedral, hand in hand, on the occasion of Marguerite d'Anjou's engagement to Henry VI, has already been described, but equally significant was Charles VII's entry into Rouen in 1449, the King flanked on either side by René and his brother.⁷⁸ During the decade following 1442, Charles was a source of constant military and financial aid for his poverty-stricken brother-in-law. The two courts spent much of the years 1445 and 1446, in each other's pockets.⁷⁹ The wedding at Nancy was delayed until Charles had assisted René in bringing the siege of Metz to a successful conclusion.⁸⁰ The entertainments the latter laid on for the English delegation, headed by the Duke of Suffolk, and the French court, at Nancy, were a concerted attempt

to create an impression of René's regality and his familiarity with the King. The festivities lasted eight days, during which René, "festoiat de jour en jour le Roy de France et les aultres seigneurs de tout son pooir, s'efforçoit continuellement de faire et trouver diverses manieres de nouveaux jeux et esbatemens pour complaire au Roy et son beau-nepveu le Daulphin".⁸¹

The tournament offered ample opportunity for the manipulation of symbols to create the desired self-image. As one of the "tenants" of the encounter at Nancy, René was the first to enter the lists, his horse trapping a significant purple velvet, a colour reserved for kings and cardinals alone, and peppered with the "crosettes d'or potencees" of Jerusalem (a cross where each arm terminates with a flat bar) in deference to his royal title. Six richly caparisoned horses followed, ridden by six pages and escorted by twelve knights and squires bearing the lances for the joust, a sufficiently numerous retinue to emphasize his status. This was a privilege shared only by Charles VII, Louis de Luxembourg, Jean de Bourbon and François, comte de Foix.⁸² The courtly cortege which accompanied the jouster was a significant feature of the tournament. The chapters of the "Pas de l'Arbre d'Or" specified that each knight was to be accompanied by six horsed gentlemen and four foot-squires, except for princes "who may bring as many into the lists as they please".⁸³

If any other demonstration of René's equality with the King was required at Nancy, it was made explicit when they together opened the day's joust, running three courses together before

Charles, on account of the heat, retired to the stand.⁸⁴ René jousted with no one else that day, though Charles broke lances with Pierre de Brézé, who, through the favour of fellow Angevin, the king's mistress Agnes Sorel, had become "tout puissant a la cour".⁸⁵ At the "Pas de la Joyeuse Garde" the following year, Rene was to exercise similar discrimination in his choice of opponent - running a course against the Duke of Alençon, the highest ranking of the "assaillants", and Guy de Laval, his closest and most favoured courtier. His entrance into the lists was conducted with like aplomb, "en grande triomphe", his helm "couronne a la Royale", the crest "a double fleurs-de-lys", his azure mantle sprinkled with gold fleurs-de-lys. At both tournaments, then, René contrived appearances that, if relatively brief, were all the more spectacularly impressive.⁸⁶

René's efforts to reinforce his position were sharpened by his rivalry with Philip the Good. The latter was noticeably absent from the gathering of "toute la noblesse de France"⁸⁷ at Nancy, but the jousts held at Châlons-sur-Marne the following month were a speedy Burgundian riposte. Tensions between the two families ran particularly high at Chalons during the acrimonious negotiations over René's ransom, the principal reason for the assembly.⁸⁸ The rivalry was played out on a number of levels. In the lists, Angevins and Burgundians sought to outdo each other, less by their jousting proficiency than the splendour of their garments; "s'efforçoit, ung chascun d'eulx journellement d'estre le plus richement habillie a venir sur les reings". If we are to believe D'Escouchy, it was common

knowledge that René and several of his adherents were eager to recommence their war against the Duke of Burgundy.⁸⁹ Aliénor de Poitiers too, has her own telling anecdote. Describing the first frosty encounter at Châlons of the Duchess Isabel of Portugal and Isabelle de Lorraine, as recounted by Aliénor's mother, she notes, that though to omit the requisite curtsey to each other would have been considered too grave a breach of etiquette, "il n'y eut nulle d'elles d'eux qui rompit ses aiguillettes de force de s'agenouiller". The Duchess refused to walk behind Isabelle, as pertained to their rank, saying that her husband was nearer to the crown than René, and in any case, she herself was daughter of the King of Portugal, "qui est plus grande que le Roy de Sicille n'est".⁹⁰

If the rivalry was particularly incisive at Châlons because of the enforced proximity of the two courts, it nonetheless continued to drive a powerful current through the remainder of the decade. As Philip's prisoner, René had on numerous occasions been privy to the Burgundian court style, an early meeting of the Golden Fleece at Dijon in 1433 for instance, or a banquet in 1436 at Lille, held for the Duke of Bourbon and the Comte de Richemont.⁹¹ Establishing his own court style in the 1440s, René sought a reflection of his regal status as well as a court which would bear comparison with, if not surpass, that of Burgundy. The "pas d'armes" and tournaments, as well as the Order of the Crescent, were integral components of this policy.

Cried well in advance to permit "la plus grande partie de messeigneurs du sang royal et maintz aultres seigneurs et nobles

sans nombre" to assemble, the jousts at Nancy were described by Leseur as a "pas de joustes a tous venans", and by La Sale as "ung grandisme pardon d'armes courtoises".⁹² The terminology used by contemporaries to describe jousts or tournaments is often imprecise or confusing, especially to historians eager to categorise them.⁹³ However it is clear from Leseur's description of René and his companions as "deffendans et tenans le pas", that, though shorn of any literary or theatrical dimension, the jousts were indeed a "pas d'armes". The "pas" transposed a familiar military scenario into the realm of the tournament - the defense of a real or fictitious passage or strategic point, by a single knight or a group of knights over a period of days or months. Although the individualistic joust on horseback with the lance was the favoured form of combat, as was the case at Nancy, Saumur and Tarascon, it did not oust other forms entirely.⁹⁴ At Jacques de Lalaing's "Pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs" staged at Châlons from 1 November 1449 to 1 October 1450, a number of combats were fought on foot with the battle axe or sword.⁹⁵ The later "Pas de l'Arbre d'Or" closed with a "melee" opposing two groups of twenty five knights.⁹⁶ Weapons were generally those of "courtoise bataille", blunted "a plaisance". As with any "social" tournament, joust or "pas", the fighting was more restrained. In Curial and Guelfa, Curial criticises the Marquis for striking out with vigour: "The Marquis is a very valorous knight, but what he is doing now looks more fitting for a mortal combat than for a tourney".⁹⁷ But it would be a mistake to believe that the fighting was less dangerous. During the "Pas

du Chateau de la Joyeuse Garde" at Saumur, one of René d'Anjou's knights "Auvregnas Champion" was killed by the blow from his opponent's lance and the next year at Tours, Louis de Bueil was fatally wounded.⁹⁸ We are approaching, but have not yet arrived, at the spirit of Castiglione's opinion of the joust, that "if agility on horseback is accompanied by gracefulness, in my opinion it makes a finer spectacle than any other sport".⁹⁹

Leseur's eyewitness account of the jousts at Nancy is the most complete, but describes only one day out of the four, that dominated by his lord, Gaston IV, comte de Foix. Neither is he always a trustworthy witness. La Sale describes René as "chief des xii dedans", yet Leseur only mentions four companions - Louis de Luxembourg, comte de St. Pol, Pierre de Brézé, Ferry de Lorraine and Philippe de Lenoncourt.¹⁰⁰ René's choice of companion "tenants" is an interesting one. Louis de Luxembourg was his vassal for the comte de Ligne. His sister was married to René's brother, Charles du Maine. In 1448, Anthoine de la Sale, tutor of Jean de Calabre, left the Angevin court to take up residence in Louis's household as tutor to his three sons.¹⁰¹ Pierre de Brézé, Great Admiral of France, maintained close connections with Anjou despite his current favour at the court of Charles VII. Knighted by Charles du Maine in 1434, he was made Seneschal of Anjou three years later entering the royal council that same year. Chastellain was subsequently to describe him as René's devoted servant, "qu'il aimoit de leal ardent amour comme son naturel seigneur".¹⁰² Ferry de Lorraine was the eldest son of René's former adversary Anthoine de Vaudemont. Ferry's marriage to Yolande d'Anjou had been

contracted as early as 1433, but postponed because of the couple's youth. The finalisation of the marriage at Nancy was a move calculated to appeal to René's subjects in Lorraine.¹⁰³ The choice of the fifth "tenant", Philippe de Lenoncourt, a young squire from René's household, might seem strange for such a magnificent event and in the presence of such distinguished company, but a decision not without calculation on René's part. His long absence from the duchy had allowed its devastation by freebooters and discontentment to surface among his subjects, of which the revolt of the citizens of Metz was but one symptom. The Lenoncourt ranked as one of the foremost noble families in Lorraine. Philippe's prominence at Nancy may, it is true, be attributable to his undoubted skill at the joust - Leseur describes him as "ung tres gentil jouxteur et ung bon et asseure coureur" - a skill he was again to demonstrate as one of the two "tenants" of the "Pas de la Bergière".¹⁰⁴ Yet, held in the market place of Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, it is likely that René hoped to placate his subjects as well as dazzle them with the splendour of his court. If, however, the names of the remaining seven "tenants" were known to us, we might expect a stronger presence of Angevins than is suggested by Leseur's list, a preponderance consistent with their domination of the inner circle of his courtiers and as exemplified in the Order of the Crescent.

Held in the midst of "plusiers grans et solennetz esbatements tant de danses, joustes, boires, mangeries comme autres et par moult de journees", the tournament at Nancy resembles René's other "pas".¹⁰⁵

Yet for all the visual opulence of the procession of the "tenants" to the lists, it is difficult to extrapolate from the surviving evidence any underlying or unifying theme to the event. Leseur certainly notes the presence at one end of the lists of a large green pillar or "perron", to which the "chapters" or articles regulating the tournament were nailed, a ritual of direct Arthurian derivation.¹⁰⁶ But by this date the "perron" was a commonplace of the "spectacular" tournament and other literary influences are also markedly absent. Neither can any coherent colour scheme or choice of device be detected. The horse trappings of each "tenant", the garments worn by their pages and servants, all described assiduously by Leseur, displayed a number of personal devices and livery colours - the "EE brises" of Pierre de Brézé, or the "lionceaux d'or" of Louis de Luxembourg - suggestive of a striving after individual rather than corporate glory.¹⁰⁷ Those of René d'Anjou projected a two pronged message. His regal status expressed via his purple horsetrapping and the cross of Jerusalem, has already been discussed. Alongside, were emblems symbolic of his private persona - one horse trapping of crimson velvet bordered with his motto "En Dieu en coit" in gold lettering, another "semees a testes de Turch rognees (trimmed) a la morisque". This exotic theme was carried through in the Turkish headgear of his six pages.¹⁰⁸

Chivalrous society had a penchant for the bizarre, "exoticism opened one of its doors of escape".¹⁰⁹ René's passion for all forms of "turquoiserie" was one inherited from his parents and reinforced by his own campaigns in southern Italy. It was

an interest appropriate for the holder of the title of King of Jerusalem. Once definitively established in Provence in 1471, René was able to indulge his hobby with even greater facility, the Venetian galleys stopping at Marseilles, offering a tempting array of Middle Eastern luxuries. In May 1477, 189 florins were spent on "pluseurs draps estranges ... tappiz et saintures moresques" bought from a Florentine galley.¹¹⁰

Three months later, a further 200 florins purchased unspecified "choses estranges" from a Venetian galley.¹¹¹ The "Jube moresque" or jubbah (a loose outer garment with wide sleeves worn by Muslims) bought from a merchant newly returned from "Barbarie", and the "albernoux alias manteau de soye" (i.e. a burnous, the Arabic long circular cloak and hood), both for Charles du Maine, must have cut a striking contrast to the short, constricting French fashion in male garments which predominated at René's court.¹¹²

Well before 1471, however, the King's tastes were very much established. Although many of his talents have been exaggerated by his countless hagiographers, René was undoubtedly an able linguist who was able to read the twenty three manuscripts noted amongst his possessions at Angers, and which his less lettered secretary, Guillaume Rayneau, could only describe as "escripz en lettres torquine et morisque".¹¹³ The opening illumination of the Livre d'Amour du Cuer Epais, written circa 1457, its composition supervised by the King, shows the interior of René's bedroom, its floor covered with Turkish carpets, the God of Love's robe embroidered with gold oriental lettering.¹¹⁴ The choice of the Crescent as the symbol of the order established in 1448, betrays this interest, while the title alone of the "Pas de la Belle Morienne", held at

Casenove near Angers in 1454, suggests the involvement of René himself or one of his courtiers.¹¹⁵

In 1446, exotic elements were used to stunning effect when paired, somewhat incongruously perhaps, with Arthurian motifs, in the "Pas du Chateau de la Joyeuse Garde", held on the plain of Launay near Saumur. The country house at Launay was a very recent acquisition of René's, purchased in 1444 from his treasurer, Etienne Bernard, and presented to the queen in 1446.¹¹⁶ The French nobility, and among them a significant number of royal servants, though not Charles VII himself, converged on the more capacious lodgings at Saumur.¹¹⁷ René was sufficiently well pleased with the event to later commission a painting of the "pas" for the great hall at Saumur, a project under the superintendence of Guy de Laval.¹¹⁸

The "Joyeuse Garde" presents a number of problems. Firstly, its chronology. Lecoy de la Marche avoided the issue entirely; more recently Françoise Robin has plumped for a starting date in June, the "pas" ending on the 8th August.¹¹⁹ The lengthy and anonymous poem commemorating the event is categorical, describing the opening procession to the lists on a Sunday in June, the first day of jousting taking place the following Thursday. René forbade any jousts on the Friday, "Pour honneur de la Passion".¹²⁰ Robin sees the "pas" as René's riposte to the "Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon" held at Razilly "some months earlier".¹²¹ This is a chronology that Courteault, basing his opinion on the evidence of Leseur's chronicle, would have liked to reverse.¹²² There is no easy answer to this problem and there are further inconsistencies. Leseur mentions Gaston de Foix's active

participation in the "pas" - "Saumur ou nostre gentil comte, ^{si} Fist/tres bien au pas du Roy Renier".¹²³ The anonymous poet describes a total of seventy six encounters but makes no mention of the count. It is possible that although the poem gives the impression of presenting an account of the "pas" in its entirety, it is in fact as partial a report as Leseur's is of Nancy. According to Mathieu d'Escouchy, the "pas" did not run its full term of forty days owing to a number of serious injuries ("y eut diverses fois plusieurs de blechiez assez rudement") culminating in the death of one of René's knights, "et par ainsy se deslaisserent iceulx esbastemens assez brief ensievant".¹²⁴ Our poet makes no allusion to this bloody end to the "tres amoureuse guerre". These omissions betray a surprising delicacy perhaps, for an account of chivalric feats of arms, where the reporting of such bloodshed would normally have added considerably to the drama, as well as giving its readers a frisson of the danger involved.¹²⁵

The showpiece of the "pas" was a richly painted wooden castle - "chastel fait par artifice" - erected on the edge of the plain. Anthoine de la Sale, one of the four judges chosen at Saumur, probably used it as a model for his description of the towers constructed by Saintré for his "pas d'armes" near Calais. The "fair halls, chambers, wardrobes, couches, dressers, stools, benches and settles, all well garnished and one and both of the towers fairly beseen and well tapestried", elicited the admiration of his English challengers.¹²⁶ The castle at Saumur probably derived its name from the "Chateau de la Douleurese Garde"

of the Lancelot romances, and indeed to Mathieu d'Escouchy, it seemed as if at Saumur "ilz voulsissent ensievyr et tenir les termes que jadis les chevalliers de la Table Ronde, que mist sus en son temps ce tres puissant prince le quel on trouve es anciennes histoires avoir regne sy haultement, c'est assavoir le Roy Artus",¹²⁷ a comparison which would have pleased René. Yet the Arthurian flavour of the "pas" was muted in comparison with many of its contemporaries, or indeed, predecessors. The adventure seeking knights who attended the "Pas de la Pelerine", organised by Jehan, bastard of St. Pol, near St. Omer, were given the option of striking either the shield of Lancelot du Lac or that of Tristan de Leonnois, to announce their challenge; one of their number, the seigneur de Ternant, jousted bearing the arms of the Arthurian knight, Palamedes.¹²⁸ Yet this scarcely matches the Arthurian theatricals of the much earlier tournament staged at Ham in 1278, one of a number of thirteenth-century tournaments, where the role playing of Arthurian characters intruded into the combats themselves and directed their outcome. At Ham, the requisite dramatic denouement was the defeat of the knight who had spoken slightly of Arthur's court and had allowed one of his damsels to be beaten by his dwarf.¹²⁹

At Saumur, the mélange of Arthurian and Turkish motifs was concentrated on the parade to the lists.¹³⁰ Two Turkish footmen

("estafiers Turcs") in long robes "a leur mode" and turbans in the crimson and white livery colours of the king, entered at the head of the procession each leading a lion which, for the duration of the "pas", stood guard over the shield "semee a fleurs de pensees" hanging from a marble column at the end of the lists, the "perron". The livery colours were repeated in the robes of the musicians, "tambours, fifres, trompettes", who followed. Two Kings at Arms bore before them their "cartularies of honour" in which to immortalise the forthcoming feats of arms, while the four judges marched behind in pairs, de Cusse and de Martigné, La Sale and Hardouin Fresneau:-

"prudens, gaillard et non trop vieux,
qui largement au temps passe
Ont honneur et sens amasse".

In advance of the "tenants" of the "pas", came the dwarf, attired above his station in cloth of gold "a la turque", with appropriately exotic and eyecatching headgear ("tocque comme ung mor"), and bearing the shield strewn with "pensees". This device was repeated on the coats of arms, banners and horsetrappings of all the "tenants", who were headed by René himself, drawn to the lists at the end of a scarf held by a beautiful damsel representing Loyalty. On arrival at the lists, the dwarf took up position, cross-legged on a crimson cushion at the door of a pavillion. As each challenger arrived to strike the shield, a damsel, alerted by the dwarf, emerged from the pavilion leading one of the "tenants".

The spirit of the romances was transmitted via a number of stock characters, beyond which there is little impression of

dramatic unity. René is known to have possessed a copy of the Lancelot, but otherwise the Arthurian romances figure infrequently in the surviving inventories of his library.¹³¹

His selection of stock characters at the "pas" seems determined as much by resources to hand, as by any passion for the romances.

The presence of numerous real Turks or Moors in his retinue obviously afforded too great an opportunity to miss. If more common in Provence, these "slaves" must have had considerable novelty value in the north of France. The accounts of the years 1447-1449 make frequent reference to them - "le Tartre de l'escuierie", "deux Mores de la fourriere", "le grant More noir" among others.¹³² "Faulcon le Maure" joined the household in 1447, and, provided with a "robe de Sarrazin" and a "turkish" knife, was brought to Angers, possibly to look after the menagerie.¹³³ If they were to be encouraged to assimilate through their renunciation of their religion, René nevertheless preferred to preserve their exotic appearance. As Piponnier has noted, "les couleurs et formes des vêtements remis aux Maures au milieu du siècle, visent surtout à les faire remarquer".¹³⁴ Their visual presence therefore made them eminently suitable for inclusion in the "pas".

In medieval symbolism, the lion incorporated a multiplicity of meanings - Christ, justice, charity, ferocity - but figured also in Chretien's romance, Yvain, "le chevalier au lion". Whilst taking account of Arthurian tradition, René was also using the "pas" to put his much vaunted menagerie on display.

Maintained at Angers, it must have been one of the largest and most varied, and warranted a special mention by Tetzels. "The King", he says, "takes great pleasure in birds and rare beasts. We saw ... two great lions, two leopards two ostriches and many other strange beasts".¹³⁵ The proclivity of the aristocracy for such collections was yet another extension of the medieval taste for the bizarre, fuelled by bestiaries books of marvels and works like 'Mandeville's Travels'. The rimed account of the "pas" mentions only two lions, but Mathieu d'Escouchy specifies also tigers and even unicorns "ou bestes semblables", though these may have appeared at the entremets.¹³⁶

If the fool with his bells, asses ears and facetiae was a commonplace of the entremet, the dwarf was his counterpart at the "pas d'armes". Maurice Keen has unearthed the chapters of a Quest, whereby each knight was to be assigned a shield in the arms of one of Arthur's knights and in true Arthurian fashion, was sent out to seek adventure in the company of a dwarf and a maiden.¹³⁷ Central to the conceit of the "Pas du Perron Fée" of 1463, was the imprisonment of the "tenant" by a dwarf, the servant of the lady of the magic pillar of the title,¹³⁸ whilst the dwarf in the "Pas de L'Arbre d'Or" of 1468, seated on the "perron", was responsible for timing with his hour glass the thirty minutes allowed for each encounter.¹³⁹ In the "Joyeuse Garde", the dwarf seems to have fulfilled a similar function. It is possible, also, that he represents the dwarf Groadain of the Lancelot romance, whilst also creating

a special role in the drama for one of René's favourite retainers, the dwarf Triboulet. From his first appearances in the accounts of 1447 to 1449, until René's death, Triboulet was the constant recipient of robes and other gifts from the king, whose worth far exceeded his natural position in the court hierarchy. His features were immortalised on a medal commissioned by René from his "tailleur d'images", Francesco Laurana, recording faithfully and without flattery, the abnormally small head commented upon by Tetzl - "the King has a man called Tuybelim (sic) who has the smallest head that I have ever seen in all my days. He wears a bonnet no bigger than a large orange".¹⁴⁰ A "wise fool", it is possible that he shared the intellectual pursuits of his master; his name has been linked to a "Complainte" on folly and death, a subject which also much exercised the King's mind.¹⁴¹

The "noble pucelle" who escorted René to the lists has numerous historical and literary precedents. At St. Denis in 1389, each knight was conducted ceremoniously by a maiden who "begged him to perform well for the sake of her love",¹⁴² a convention which reappears in Servion's retelling of the famous Mayday tournament held at Bourg-en-Bresse in 1353, where the twelve "tenants" were led out by "douze dames douze cordons de soye verde chacune menant son chivallier atache a la bride".¹⁴³ The scarf, and silk ribbon or chain held courtly connotations. In the romance, Tirant Lo Blanc, the silver chain with which Diaphebus is led to the lists, "shows he is love's prisoner".¹⁴⁴

The effect of the romances was to inculcate the credo that the love of a lady inspired the knight to deeds of chivalric prowess which in turn intensified the lady's love. Deschamps, addressing the participants of the jousts at St. Denis, writes:

"Servans d'Amours, regardez doucement,
Aux eschaffaux, anges de paradis,
Lors jousteres fort et joyeusement
Et vous serez honorez et cheriz".¹⁴⁵

Convention or otherwise, women are usually cited as the pretext for holding a tournament. This may be in general, as at Nancy, where the "pas" was held "pour l'amour des dames,"¹⁴⁶ or more specific, as in the "Pas de la Belle Morienne", her champion issuing the challenge "pour l'amour d'elle contre tous venants".¹⁴⁷ The "pucelle" also became a central character of the "pas". Lady Loyalty of the "Pas de la Joyeuse Garde", and Isabelle de Lenoncourt, the shepherdess of the "Pas de la Pastourelle/ Bergiere", were the dramatic focal points of the "pas", surveying the combats from their vantage points and presenting the prizes to the victors. If then, by the fifteenth century, the position of the noblewoman at the tournament was entrenched, her major active function was the distribution of prizes. Cline has suggested that this was an adaptation of the romances, where the woman herself was the prize, to the practicalities of life.¹⁴⁸ Diamonds, jewels and horses were the usual prizes though the kiss of the ladies present was also considered acceptable. "Le droit du tournoy", states Anthoine de la Sale baldly, "respond que aux dames et damoiselles suffist de regarder et presenter le pris".¹⁴⁹ More problematic

is the woman's precise role in the selection of the prizewinners. At the Burgundian "Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne" for instance, the prizes are to be decided "a la relation de la duchesse et des aultres dames".¹⁵⁰ But is this a mere courteous gesture or a point of fact? At Nancy the heralds and poursuivants approached the stand where the ladies were gathered "to find out from them to whom they should give the prizes". The ladies, however, defer judgement and consult the judges for their opinion. After "everything had been well debated, the prize was settled on the agreement of the majority".¹⁵¹ The prominence of the learned judges at the "pas" combined with an increasingly sophisticated scoring system whereby points were awarded for the breaking of the lance on different parts of the opponent's armour, often made the selection of a champion a foregone conclusion. At Saumur in 1446, the choice of Philippe de Florigny as the best jouster of the "estrangiers" and Ferry de Lorraine of the "tenants", was made by the four judges "a part et tout secrete-ment". Their prizes, a charger for the former, a brooch for the latter, were presented by the "Damoiselle" of the "pas". "Vous este celle Commise pour reguerdonner", announces the King at Arms pointedly; to present the prizes, certainly, but not to decide on their recipients.¹⁵² René's Traité is similarly unequivocal, relegating the woman's role to the decorative and ceremonial. The decision is in the hands of the four "juges diseurs", who on the final evening escort a lady of their choosing and two of her companions on a ceremonious and stately perambulation three times around the hall proceeded by trumpeters

and followed by the assembled heralds and poursuivants, halting finally before the champion.¹⁵³

Three years passed before René again organised his third and final large scale tournament. The "Pas de la Bergière" held at Tarascon during the first week in June 1449, presents a striking contrast in style to those of Nancy and Saumur, a relatively low key affair compared to their lavishness. Louis de Beauvau, who some years later, commemorated the "pas" in a lengthy poem, characterised it as "moult plaisant et legiere".¹⁵⁴ As at Saumur the dramatic element was comparatively restrained. A shepherdess, Isabelle de Lenoncourt, sat before a small lodge decorated "si gracieux que homme faire savoit" with foliage, and flowers, and guarding her flock of sheep, "awaited adventure". From a nearby tree, a poursuivant had hung two shields, one painted white, signifying joy ("leesse"), the other black, signifying sadness ("tristesse"). Each shield had its champion, the two "pastoureux ... serviteurs loyaulx de la pastourelle", Isabelle's brother Philippe and Philibert de Laigue respectively. The challenger happy in love must strike the black, the unhappy, the white. The procession of the "tenants", announced by the habitual abundance of trumpeters, minstrels and heralds, opened the "pas" on Tuesday 3rd June, having already been postponed from the Sunday, partly because it was Pentecost, but also because of the rain. Each day of jousting was followed by a day's rest.

The theatricality of the procession to the lists was muted,

with few concessions to the pastoral theme. Gone too, are the vibrant hues of Nancy and Saumur, replaced by a preponderance of grey, black and white, the king's livery colours. Just as she is illustrated on the opening page of Beauvau's poem, the shepherdess was dressed in grey figured damask and a "gentil chaperon de bourgoise de rosee", carrying a silver crook and panier, the rich crimson cloth of gold trapping of her horse adding a note of colour.¹⁵⁵ Two youths, leading her horse, were "bien desguisez en habis pastoureaulx". Though the two defenders of the "pas" also carried crooks betokening their roles, in all other respects their armour was complete, their helms topped by long flowing purple ostrich feathers. Even Beauvau was forced to admit that "a grant peine a bergiers ne pasteurs eussent semble pour leurs abis divers".

The pacific connotations of the bucolic idyll seem a world away from the martial exercises of the "pas", but there is nothing to suggest that the quality of the combat was in any way diminished thereby. The choice of theme is certainly unusual but explicable in light of what we know of René's personality - his roots in the chivalric traditions of Northern Europe and his openness to new trends in art, literature and thought flowing northwards from Italy. The "Pas de la Bergière" has with justification been described as a "combination of medieval and Renaissance motifs",¹⁵⁶ the pastoral theme a topos popular in the literature of both periods. As early as 1285, the interludes at the tournament of Chauvency included two girls disguised as a shepherd and shepherdess miming the story of the theft of a kiss.¹⁵⁷ Provence

at the same period witnessed the popularity of the songs called "pastourelles". In the following century, inventories surviving from the princely courts reveal a vogue for tapestries depicting scenes of how aristocratic society envisaged the pastoral life. Louis d'Orléans owned a set, or "chambre", of green hangings "a bergiers et bergeres faisant contenance de mengier nois et cerises".¹⁵⁸ Antoine de la Sale complained of the softness of the nobility expressed in their preference for these tapestries showing scenes of "hunting and hawking, shepherds and sheep or amorous games" rather than the more edifying "fine histories, .. famous battles and conquests of the brave".¹⁵⁹ Perhaps the most bizarre manifestation of the vogue, was the "bergerie". Philip the Bold borrowed Jean de Berry's designs for his "bergerie", a sculptured garden of shepherds and their flocks, for his castle at Germolles.¹⁶⁰

For René, the pastoral vision was more than just an adaptable or interesting theme - it was a lifestyle worthy of imitation. Chastellain wrote:

"J'ay vu un roi de Cecille, vu devenir berger,
Et sa femme gentille de ce mesme mestier,
Portant la pannetiere, la houlette et chapeau,
Logeans sur la bruyere Aupres de leur troupeau".¹⁶¹

The royal couple's fascination with the theme was celebrated in the poem, "Regnault et Jehanneton ou les amours du berger et de la bergeronne", no longer believed to have been composed by Rene himself, but certainly a product of his court circle. Written in the later years of the 1450s, the allegorical note struck by the poem reflects René's increasing desire to create an idyllic life close to nature. Françoise Robin has recently

highlighted one of René's most original contributions, a building programme of small manors, veritable "maisons de campagnes", such as Reculée, Chanzé or Rivettes, projects begun in the 1440s and inspired, she says, by the aristocratic villas of rural Italy.¹⁶² Their construction was symptomatic of a general "recherche d'intimité et d'isolement", but his purchase of Gardanne in Provence in the 1450s was a real attempt to "vivre concrètement cette littérature".¹⁶³ Here was a real farm where René cultivated his vineyards and raised sheep. But these are later developments dating primarily from the years following his return from his unsuccessful Italian campaign in 1454, developments of which the "pas" was the harbinger. The building programmes of the 1440s which saw the reconstruction and amelioration of the "bastides", witnessed the embellishment of the royal castles, backdrops of court spectacles, continue apace.

Much has been read into the novelty of the theme of the "pas" and its contemporaneity with René's absence from the north of France and the French court. Poirion views René's sojourn in his Provençal territories as a sign of his disappointed princely pretensions, thwarted by royal power, and thus at the "Pas de la Bergière", "on se réfugie dans l'idylle".¹⁶⁴ De Beaucourt and later Vale, point to the distancing of the Angevins from the royal council and court after 1445 and their replacement by the "mignons".¹⁶⁵ René's descent southwards was probably determined more by his four year absence from Provence, than any retreat to lick his wounds. His return north in 1449 brought

him once more into a harmonious relationship with the King, graphically demonstrated on their entry into Rouen and by Charles' financial and moral backing of René's Italian campaign. Charles' disillusionment with René was to emerge only after the farce of 1454, when it was reported that the King blamed his brother-in-law for "having undone the respect and honour of France in Italy".¹⁶⁶

The years which witnessed the holding of the "pas" at Tarascon were not yet ones of retraction and withdrawal from the centre of power, but a period when René was mustering his resources and gathering strength for a renewed expedition against Alfonso of Naples. This time, the "pas" was no international gathering, drawing its participants almost exclusively from the surrounding area, Aix, Marseilles, Montpellier, Nîmes, and from René's duchies of Lorraine and Anjou. Only three of the twenty knights and squires who took part in the three days of jousting may be said to be "foreigners" - a squire from the Béarn designated simply as "Couraze", Willemart d'Yve and Guerri de Charno (or Charnois). This latter had also fought as one of the "tenants" of the "pas" at Saumur, suggestive of a more than ephemeral connection with the Angevin court, but one which has not survived in the accounts. A number of features characterise the remainder - their youth, their membership of a select circle of courtiers gravitating around the king and their prominence at the "pas" of the mid years of the 1440s. At the centre of this group were Guy de Laval, Louis de Beauvau, Jean Cossa and Ferry de Lorraine. At Saumur they numbered

among the 24 "tenants", notching up an impressive twenty two combats out of the seventy six recorded.¹⁶⁷ By the time of the "pas" at Tarascon, they and two other jousters, Tanneguy du Chastel, Seneschal of Provence and Foulques d'Agoult, had already been singled out for membership of the newly formed order of the Crescent, while two more, Philippe de Lenoncourt and Gaspart Cossa, were to achieve this honour at a later date. Twelve future members of the Crescent were present at Saumur, involved in 47 out of the 76 combats, or just short of two thirds of the total.¹⁶⁸ Several of them obviously shared René's enthusiasm for the "joust", Louis de Beauvau, Ferry and Jean de Lorraine taking part in the jousts at Châlons,¹⁶⁹ Beauvau, Cossa, Laval and Lenoncourt joining Charles VII's team at Tours.¹⁷⁰

The argument that René was using the "pas" at Tarascon, or the Crescent for that matter, to bind his nobility to him, will not hold water. If there is one thing striking about the group of men appearing at the "pas", it is their cohesion as a group, supporting René and his policies in the 1440s and 1450s and continuing to render him service for years, some for decades, to come. In 1449 many were still young men, part of the court squirearchy, men who would be blooded in the campaigns of Guyenne:- the Angevin Pierre Carrion "valet trenchant";¹⁷¹ Honnorat de Berre s^r d'Entravenes from Provence, "escuier eschanson" and later "grant maître d'hotel";¹⁷² Philibert de Laigue, another Angevin, "valet tranchant" in 1452, later councillor and chamberlain and given, in 1470, the office of

captain of the "Tour de Marseilles" in recognition of services "des son jeune age";¹⁷³ Gaspart Cossa, "pannetier" in 1451, chamberlain by 1469 and described by Rene in 1472 as "one of our most favourite servants".¹⁷⁴

The chivalric extravaganza of the "pas d'armes" of the 1440s, was not repeated by René in subsequent decades. Indeed, after 1449, none of the tournaments or jousts connected with the court of Anjou, seem to have warranted the attentions of chroniclers. René's own interest in the tournament never waned, yet other matters intruded in the years before 1454, most notably the campaigns in Normandy, the Guyenne and Italy, which rendered their organisation inviable. Small scale, ad hoc affairs nevertheless continued unabated. Among the items sent from the king's armoury to Maitre Fremin of Avignon for repair at the beginning of 1452, was a tournament helm engraved "a grande lettres anciennes".¹⁷⁵ The preparations for jousts held at Casenove near Angers at Shrovetide 1453, suggest some degree of complexity but not luxury. A large, if inexpensive, quantity of woollen cloth ("Josselin de Bretanique"), striped in white, was turned into caparisons for the king's horses and jackets for the squires serving him in the lists. Fifty aulnes of material were hired "pour faire des lices ... en attendant celles du bois".¹⁷⁶ These wooden lists were possibly left in situ with a view to holding future jousts. The letters of challenge of the "pas" or "emprise de la Belle Morienne", state that the eponymous damsel will lead out her champion "sur les reings qui sont davant Casenove lez le chastel d'Angiers" on 12 November 1454 to meet all comers.¹⁷⁷

It is unlikely that knowledge of the missing household accounts for the years 1454 to 1469 would dramatically alter this picture of low key, low cost, infrequent jousting or tournament activity, for those surviving from the 1470s disclose a substantially similar pattern. Now a spectator and no longer a participant, René presides over jousts which are the training ground and the sport and entertainment of the youthful members of his court. In 1480, yellow, red, green and black powpoints and horsetrappings are made for Jeanne de Laval's pages, Artus de la Jaille and Anthibout, "quant Ilz Jousterent contre Jaquemart".¹⁷⁸ The majority of entries, however, relate to purchases made for the illegitimate son of Jean de Calabre - grey velvet for a robe worn at the jousts held on "la place des freres prescheurs d'Aix" for Pentecost 1478, a jousting harness bought in Milan at great expense that same year, figured damask to outfit his attendants at jousts organised at Aix in 1479, by Pierre de Beauvau.¹⁷⁹

René's failure to continue to exploit events like the "pas d'armes" to bolster his image in later years is explicable both in terms of a downturn in his career and developments within the tournament. The 1440s proved to be the heyday of the "pas d'armes", their exuberance perfectly matching the humour of the king. René's three "pas" were not played out in isolation, but in the midst of a number of others, emanating primarily from the Burgundian sphere of influence:- the L'Arbre de Charlemagne of 1443, the Belle Pelerine and La Fontaine des Pleurs of 1449. In the following decades their popularity declined and they occur intermittently - the Perron Fee in 1463, the L'Arbre d'Or five

years later and the Pas d'armes de la Dame Sauvage in 1477. For René, the year 1454 marked a definite watershed, the close of perhaps the most optimistic and splendid phase of his career. The Italian debacle had dented his ego rather badly and his court never recovered the buoyancy of the previous decade. René no longer gravitated around the French court and his contact with Charles VII was less frequent and intimate. He preferred to frequent, in rotation, his increasing number of rural retreats, Chanzé, Baugé, Launay, Rivettes and Gardanne among others. The court surrounding him was less a weapon of magnificence than a source of consolation and companionship where he could relax in the midst of like minded literati, artists and servants and friends of long standing. Entertaining less and less and with Angevin pretensions in Italy divested onto the shoulders of his son Jean de Calabre, René felt less constrained or impelled to lay on demonstrations of his regal standing. Integral features of the king's political and personal policy of magnificence in the 1440s, the energies employed in the "pas d'armes", were in later years channelled into René's literary and artistic activities.

Tournaments, "pas d'armes" and jousts satisfied the needs and aspirations of the nobility on a variety of levels - the desire of the prince for self glorification, the search of the knight for honour won through prowess, the love of the aristocracy of social occasions permitting the parade of wealth and status expressed in finery and jewels. Furthermore, with their

Arthurian and literary overtones, they offered escapism to a society steeped in the ethos of the romances. Highly caste conscious events too, they employed signals - devices, colour combinations, coats-of-arms and badges - whose precise signification was appreciated by this elite alone.

As centres of wealth, sociability and artistic expertise, the princely court was the harbour of the increasingly costly and sophisticated tournament of the late Middle Ages. Thus appropriated by the prince, they were used to add glamour and excitement to the highpoints of his life and the aristocratic calendar, a weapon in his policy of self-aggrandizement. Other factors, however, influenced their frequency, most crucially war. Proliferating at times of peace, they stop resolutely in time of war. It is this factor, combined with the role of "fashion", which accounts for the cluster patterns of the years 1389 to 1392 and the mid years of the 1440s. The young Louis d'Orléans was caught up in the fashionable wave of chivalric tournaments initiated by his brother, just as later, though with more originality, René d'Anjou latched quickly on to the mid-century vogue of the "pas d'armes" with an eye to their potential.

The inclinations and enthusiasm of the prince, too, dictated their frequency. Charles d'Orléans, largely antipathetic to such martial exercises in his later years, does not appear, on surviving evidence, to have organised any tournaments or jousts, large or small scale. Though his father has the more chivalric reputation, none were sponsored by him after 1392 and the youthful energies of his household knights found an outlet in crusades, and "emprises"

undertaken against English, or Burgundian, enemies. Similarly, both Amédée VIII and René d'Anjou entered phases of retreat where they largely abandoned the tournament as an expression of dynastic magnificence.

But the self-assured manipulation of the jousts and "pas d'armes" by the prince as showcases of his wealth, status and prestige, so avidly reported by the chroniclers, has obscured their continued use as a training ground for war. All courts, were made up of a considerable contingent of young men - pages and squires - who received their military training, or made their leisure, through the pursuit of such exercises. A continuous stream of tournament activity, in which the major "pas d'armes" or spectacular jousts were but irregular hiccoughs, are just perceptible in the accounts of all three courts. By their very nature commonplace and unspectacular, they were deemed unworthy of comment by chroniclers, but their incidence is hinted at in the notices of repairs made to jousting harness or helms, gifts made to minstrels or heralds present, or the purchase of jewels given as prizes. These small references are, however, valuable indicators to the major reason for the staging of tournaments and jousts - the fact that the aristocracy enjoyed them as their major pastime.

CHAPTER FIVE

FEAST AND FETE

Entertainment at court had both a public and a private function, serving to enhance and embolden the prince's image before his subjects, peers and visitors, as well as catering for his private recreation and amusement in the intimacy of his chambers. At their most flamboyant, they were "single artistic statements"¹ involving in their creation the combined talents and co-operation of court artists, musicians, poets, craftsmen and cooks. Visibly expensive, extravagant and wasteful, and ostentatiously so, court "fêtes" had their critics as well as their admirers. In Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin, Philippe de Mézières counselled the young Charles VI to moderation:-

"We all know that there was never a time in the history of the world when great lords did not indulge in feastings and display, but if ever there was a moment for retrenchment and reform, it is now ... great display is displeasing to God".²

Such moralising fell on deaf ears, as other sectors of the literate society, most noticeably the chroniclers, used their pages to amplify the magnificence of their noble patrons in the detailed description of their court entertainments. Banquets, entremets, tournaments, "mommeries", music and dancing, brought the great events of the prince's private and public life (marriages, baptisms, martial victories, treaties) to the attention of the wider world, social and political occasions featuring heavily in the majority of fifteenth-century chronicles. Consider, for example, the questionnaire drawn up by Perrinet Dupin, commissioned by Yolande de Savoie to compile a chronicle on the life of Amédée VIII. If

ever completed, the chronicle has not survived, but we can grasp a fair idea of its scope from the fifty six points on which Dupin required clarification. Many of these concern details of ceremonies and celebrations. Question 35, for instance, relates to those surrounding the election of Amédée VIII as Pope Felix V in 1440:-

"Item, est necessaire que Dupin saiche ... le mistiere qui fut tenu a icellui coronner ... le tryomphe que on mena a ceste feste cy faire, les dons qui furent donnez et a qui on les donna; l'assiepte qui fut faicte en table des haulx princes et signeurs, la forme des entremes, maurisques et exbatemens, les noms des maistres d'ostelz, de sale, et de cuysine, s'il y eu nul joustes, aussi qui furent les jousteurs, le point qu'ilz vindrent sur les rans, ceulx qui gaignerent les pris".³

This kind of literary description, so abundant for the court of Burgundy, is very rare for Savoy, thus the loss of Dupin's chronicle is regrettable. The fullness of the Savoyard household accounts goes some way to compensate for its absence, yet the evidence culled from these is at best incoherent and patchy. The accounts of both Orléans and Anjou are even more taciturn, in this respect, communicating little of the hectic round of festivities discernible from those of Savoy.

For all courts, however, entertaining was an onerous yet time-honoured obligation. One of the major duties incumbent on the prince, according to Deschamps, was "A tous venans avoir large maison".⁴ The place of largesse in the panoply of knightly virtues was hammered home in countless chivalric biographies, romances and treatises, to cite the Chevalier Bayart for instance, "it is a base humour that gratifies avarice at the expense of honour".⁵ The large debts accrued by the count Jacques de Challant, major feudatory of the duke of Savoy, in the almost daily reception and entertainment of

all manner of visitors, was, for his chronicler Dubois, a matter of reserved pride rather than criticism ("on ne luy pouvoit pas reprocher qu'il eust despendu follement, ne en folle compagnie").⁶ Such open-handedness was even more imperative for the duke of Savoy. In 1478, Philibert de Savoie felt obliged to send six silver gilt cups, valued at 249 florins, to a Milanese ambassador purely because, "ci-devant il avoit fait de dons a mondit Seigneur que montoient a tant ou plus que ce que ly a este donne".⁷ The moral of the incident is clear - a prince should not be outdone in generosity by a mere emissary.

Each prince met this obligation to a varying degree, according to his means, enthusiasm, or preoccupation with the projection of his personal, or dynastic, image. Other variables could also affect their periodicity. The spate of high profile spectacles organised by René d'Anjou in the 1440s, were his means of asserting himself on the French political scene after a prolonged absence in Italy. After 1454, the urgencies and excitement of the previous decade had, for René, largely evaporated. His withdrawal from the forefront of the political stage, rendered such large scale "fêtes" unnecessary. In subsequent years he channelled his patronage and energies into the arts, and while a series of mystery plays benefitted from his benefaction, court entertainments "per se" were much more sporadic and low-key.

In the rarefied literary ambience of the court at Blois under Charles d'Orléans, court spectacle was largely eschewed. Yet if self generated entertainments were extremely rare at the court, Charles himself was the only too willing participant of those laid on at the expense of others. His reception at St. Omer on his

release from England, and the festivities at his marriage to Marie de Clèves, set the pattern for the remaining years of his life.⁸ We note his presence at Tours in 1444 at the "fiancailles" of Marguerite d'Anjou and Henry VI,⁹ at Ghent the following year for the assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece,¹⁰ at the "mystère" of Alexander, Hector and Achilles, devised by Olivier de la Marche and George Chastellain at Nevers in 1454,¹¹ and as an honoured guest at jousts and banquets organised by the count of Charolais and duke of Burgundy in Paris in 1461.¹² Clearly, the ageing Charles, felt under no compulsion to pursue a policy of self glorification through the medium of spectacle, a policy which in any case, could not be accommodated by his limited financial resources.

The court of Savoy, to a greater degree than either Orléans or Anjou-Provence, was burdened with a continuous stream of diplomatic visitors and courtesy callers, all of whom necessitated a dignified and fitting reception, tailored to their rank, if the honour of both host and guest was to be satisfied. When Philip the Good visited Thonon in 1422, "il fut receu et traicte comme il appartenoit au plus grand Duc de la Chrestienté".¹³ For a state with restricted economic means, lavish entertaining placed an incredible strain on the ducal budget, and from the middle of the century the problem became more acute. Savoy's difficulties were compounded by her geographical and political situation. Straddling the Alps and thereby standing sentinel over the passes into Italy, her natural strategic, and therefore political, importance was greatly increased during the course of the fifteenth century, as her northern neighbours cast their

attentions southwards. By the period of Yolande's regency, the dynasty was linked either diplomatically, or through marriage, to Louis XI, the Dukes of Burgundy and Milan as well as the Empire, her natural suzerain. Embassies were the order of the day, keeping up the constant flow of information between one court and another. From Lausanne in 1449, Amédée VIII wrote to his son Louis, reprimanding him for unnecessary expenditure and enjoining him, his wife and their courtiers, to make sacrifices and live within their means ("se ab inutili expensa abstinuisset, res hodie melius se haberent"). Louis retorted that such cutbacks were impossible, the "great concourse of nobles and others toing and froing which war and embassies lead to Turin", he wrote, were forcing him to be more magnificent in order to keep up appearances.¹⁴ There was an intense social pressure to maintain the family honour and reputation at all costs on such occasions. For this reason, Jacques Lambert, councillor and "maitre des requetes" to the duke Philibert, judged that the 25000 florins spent on provisioning the household whilst in residence in the Vaudois was money well spent, "car ainsy le failloit faire pour le honeur de madite dame [Yolande] de mondit seigneur et de la maison de Savoye a cause de la presence de mondit seigneur de Bourgoigne".¹⁵

Louis and his wife Anne had quickly established a name for themselves as patrons of art, literature and music and for the brilliance of their court. Their lifestyle attracted criticism and envy from a variety of quarters. The anonymous author of the Chronica Latina Sabaudiae, was unapologetic in his condemnation of Louis:-

"gloria sua erat in habendo cantores musicos
in numero copioso et sumptuoso et sagittarios
picardos, quibus dabat quod habebat et quod non
habebat". 16

Louis' patronage of court entertainment was doubtless less judicious than his father's had been, but no more magnificent than that of Yolande. . . From his frequent visits to the Burgundian court in his youth, Amédée had absorbed the lesson of deploying his magnificence to great effect, and though by personality not given to extravagance, he did not baulk from spending large sums of money when he felt the occasion demanded it - the visits of the Emperor Sigismund in 1416, or Philip the Good in 1422 for example. Yet, because his hold on the government of the duchy appeared so secure, and his son's so abysmal by comparison, the expenditure of the latter was thrown into relief and became all the more intolerable to his subjects, much as Richard II's ostentation had aroused a far greater indignation than that of his more militarily successful grandfather, Edward III.

Foreign guests were, of course, not the sole beneficiaries of the court's role as a centre of entertainment. The prince's subjects had also to be made aware, and constantly, of his power as manifested via the wealth, spectacle and capacity for ingenuity displayed on such occasions. As Jaquot has suggested, the exaltation of the power of the prince was not the unique goal of the court fête, "elle vise a donner une forme sensible a l'idée d'un ordre social dont il [i.e. the prince] est la clef de voute, d'une hiérarchie de fonctions que justifie un échange de services et où le plus humble a le sentiment de jouer un rôle".¹⁷ The social hierarchy was expressed and confirmed

by the seating order at the banquet, or position in the processional and stately "basse danse", physical proximity to the prince a public statement of high rank. All court festivities, too, employed an element of bluff, giving the assuring illusion of unity and consensus around the prince, endorsing his role as munificent provider.

The presence of the prince's subjects was particularly desirable on the occasion of visits from prestigious guests and at the high points of the religious calendar. Particularly important, was the attendance of noble women, necessary to mitigate the predominantly male bias of the household and even up the numbers for dancing. In December 1400, Glaude de Challes was sent from Chambéry to invite the gentlewomen of the environs to celebrate Christmas at court. The banquets and "mommeries" given for the ambassadors of Milan at Rivolli in 1478, were enlivened by the presence of a large number of "dames de piemont qui las sont venue festoyer".¹⁸ Between Christmas and Lent, the court expanded to accommodate an influx of visitors, come to celebrate the religious festivals. The lists of the recipients of the New Year's Day gifts, "étrennes du nouvel an", often record the presence at court of supernumeraries brought in for the duration of the festive season. In 1466, three minstrels from Yenne were paid 12 florins to remain with the court at Chambéry "a Jouer de leurs instrumens dey les festes de noye Jusques a carementrant des bourdes [i.e. Christmas to the first Sunday in Lent]".¹⁹ At Aix over the period of Christmas and New Year 1479-80, the court minstrelsy was supplemented by the two trumpeters of Nicolas de Calabre, the "tabourins" and trumpeters from the town, and the "Gallans de Soucy" who performed "plusieurs farces et esbatemens" over the space of a month and were paid the princely sum of 100 florins for their pains.²⁰

The Savoyard "étrennes" of 1464 included twelve Dominican friars from Paris, "lesqueulx on dit le devin office des matines, messes et vespres devant et a lostel de mondit Seigneur aux fetes de noe et aujourd'hui [1 January]." ²¹ Food and entertainment for the body and soul were laid on for the guests at no cost to themselves, a blatant and universally employed "panem et circenses". Antonio Appiano, Milanese ambassador, celebrating Christmas 1471 with the court of Savoy at Vercelli, commented with admiration on the festivities in letters to his master. After hearing mass from the hours of four until nine in the evening ("molto solenni et cum gran cerimonie") the court tucked into a banquet of capons, partridges and other foods-"queste feste se solennizzano tanto quasi non se parla de cosa alcuna se non de officii, predichi et fare festa et bona ciera". ²²

The court of Savoy seems to have celebrated Christmas in considerable style and adopted early in the fifteenth century, and probably from Burgundy, the custom of the reign of misrule of the King and Queen of the Bean on Twelfth Night. From the first appearance of the "Rex Epifanie" in 1412, he becomes an annual event, a "Regina Fabe" joining him in 1439, and the "folle de la Royne de la Fève" making a belated entrance in 1476. ²³ A practice never once mentioned in the accounts of René d'Anjou, and only appearing at Blois in 1456 ²⁴ and then only intermittently thereafter, it seems to have enjoyed great favour at Savoy. In 1439, Louis gave his squire, Hector Gosselin, 40 florins for having caused him so much amusement in his performance of the role ("domino die Illa multa Illarescencia gaudis et solacia in dicto suo Regno prebuit"). ²⁵ Although ostensibly the roles fell to those who drew the bean from the Twelfth Night cake, there is a uniformity in their background which suggests a prior

preparation to their dramatics. These "Kings" and "Queens" were drawn predominantly from the squirearchy and the duchess' ladies-in-waiting. All seem to have been relatively young. Pierre de Grolee was at the beginning of an eminent diplomatic career when as ducal squire in 1415, he was King of the Bean. By 1447, he was councillor, ducal chamberlain and Knight of the Collar.²⁶ The comtesse de Gruyere, and Perrin d'Antioch, King and Queen of the Bean in 1442 and Galloys Gerbais, squire and King of the Bean in 1440 all took part in a "mommerie" performed at Geneva in February 1443.²⁷ Courtiers with youth and energy on their side, spending long periods at court, they were consequently well versed in the organisation of entertainments. For, according to the Black Book of Edward IV of England, it was the duty of the "esquiers of the household":

"winter and somer, in after nonys and in evenyngs, to drawe to the lordez chambrez within courte, there to kepe honest company aftyre theyre cunyng, in talking of cronycles of kinges and of other polycyez, or in pyping, or harpyng, synging, other actez marciablez [i.e. laudable] to help occupy the court and accompany straungers, tyll the tym require of departing".²⁸

The annual concentration of court fêtes in the months of December, January and February, by no means resulted in a mean diet for the remainder of the year. Music, dance and theatre intruded into court life on an almost daily basis. On 2nd May 1476 René d'Anjou made payments to "un petit gar" for playing his trumpet, a Lombard who had sung to the accompaniment of his lute, four men from the town of Vienne performing on the harp, doulcimer, lute and tambourine. Three days later, at Lyon, money was again distributed to a minstrel from Lombardy playing the double flute, a harpist and a lutenist and four children who danced the "morisque" before him.²⁹ The frequency

of the appearance in the accounts of gratuities made to itinerant minstrels, jugglers, acrobats and dancers, gives the impression that for its daily entertainment, the court subsisted on a diet of their talents. Although it is true that their appearances were important in providing novelty and variety and encouraging cross-fertilisation of new skills and repertoires, each court was to a great extent a self-sufficient entity, containing in its midst a range of specialists capable of catering for the prince's ceremonial and festive requirements. Principal among these were the court musicians.

Tinctoris ascribed to music, the power to render all manner of banquets and entertainments even more magnificent.³⁰ This aspect was not lost on the prince and to this end he maintained a larger or smaller ensemble of musicians. Louis d'Orléans, with easy access to a pool of musicians in Paris, never seems to have retained more than five or six minstrels in his personal household.³¹ Indications extrapolated from the documentation for his son's court, suggest an even smaller complement of musicians, hence Charles' frequent recourse to minstrels and entertainers from outwith his court, such as the "ecoliers et tambourineurs" from Orléans brought in to perform a "morisque" before René d'Anjou and his queen in 1455.³² René's own minstrelsy fluctuated between seven, in 1478, to as many as eighteen in January 1480, a tally consistent with his high rank.³³ At Savoy, the normal complement seems to have been about half a dozen, bulging very noticeably to double that size in the years of Louis and Anne, corroborating the comments of the Chronica Latina Sabaudiae.³⁴ If we consider that the number of minstrels at the very much larger and richer court of Burgundy averaged

between twelve and fifteen during this period, we may appreciate the ostentation involved.³⁵

The exigencies of the prince's public persona, took precedence over his private and personal entertainment, a bias reflected in the dominance of the trumpets, clarions and other "haultz instrumens" (sackbutts, cornemuse, shawms and "bombardes") over the softer, stringed "bas instrumens" (lutes, rebecs and harps). Essentially outdoor instruments, perfect for war, the hunt and ceremonial, the noise of the trumpets and clarions punctuated the daily drama of the court, supporting the dignity of the prince, heralding his arrival, announcing his departure, making sure his passing did not go unnoticed. Though in general deploring the money cast after minstrels and heralds, Philippe de Mézières took on board their important ceremonial and military functions:-

"I'm not saying that you [i.e. Charles VI] cannot have minstrels to the honour and reverence of God and your royal majesty, such as large trumpets and clarions ... always before you in your army and elsewhere".³⁶

The three trumpeters at the castles of Blois, Chasteauthierry and Coucy by Louis d'Orléans were clearly placed there for military rather than social reasons.³⁷ On campaign, trumpeters sounded the "reveille".

During the Italian campaign of 1453, Sforza's emissary Angelo Simonetta reported that René, "greatly dislikes the custom of trumpeters performing "aubades" ["matinate"]".³⁸ Nevertheless, ever attentive to the dignity appropriate to his rank, René at the end of his life, maintained an impressive body of instrumentalists whose main task was to underline his majesty - five trumpeters, five "haulx menestriers", and Orguillon and Gautheron "tabourins", as opposed to only four "bas instrumens".³⁹ While undoubtedly René's last decade witnessed his semi-retirement, his court cannot

be said to have lacked the accoutrements of pomp and ceremony. Similarly, Amédée VIII's retreat to the hermitage at Ripaille, certainly did not entail the total abdication of his ducal dignity, accompanied as he was by four trumpeters and three minstrels.⁴⁰

The importance of the "haultz instrumens" at the tournament is highlighted in René's Traite where considerable attention is given to their place in the processions of tourneyers and judges to the lists, their fanfares marking the commencement and close of each encounter, blasting out to greet each strike of sword or lance.⁴¹ At Nancy in 1445 there was "grand bruyt de trompettes d'une part et d'autre" during each course of the jousts.⁴² In the evening their duties were more social, performing at the banquets and dancing which were the natural corollaries of the tournament. The noise of the "haultz instrumens" was still the preferred accompaniment for dancing, the instrumentalists distanced from the dancers in the minstrels gallery or on a raised platform, such as was constructed at Vercelli in 1476 for the visit of the count of Geneva.⁴³ The role of music in the success of all manner of indoor entertainment emerges particularly clearly from Lefèvre de Saint Rémy's description of the entremets at Chambéry for the marriage of Louis to Anne de Chypre. On the Sunday, first of five days of non stop festivities, after dinner, four trumpeters made an impressive entrance into the banquetting hall on "chevaux de artifice", sounding their trumpets and clarions as twelve gentlemen, similarly mounted, gave a virtuoso exhibition of banner twirling. At supper, as on each successive evening, "plusieurs trompettes and menestreulx de divers pays", played before the high table. As part of the entremets on the following evening, sirens "qui chantoient tres gracieusement", escorted a sailing ship

into the hall to discharge its cargo of fish. A more elegiac note was struck on the final evening. There were no banquets nor entremets, only "maintes chansons chantees, tant de musique comme de bergieretes".⁴⁴ Even Monstrelet's bare listing of the "large numbers" of "rois d'armes, heraulx et poursuivans, trompettes, menestrelx et aultres juans divers instrumens de musique" at the marriage of Charles d'Orléans and Marie de Clèves in 1440, testifies to their contribution to the magnificence of the occasion.⁴⁵

The public nature of most of the minstrel's duties, bearing the badge of the arms of the prince and thereby advertising his prestige at home and abroad, necessitated musicians of high calibre.⁴⁶ Though rarely composers, the court minstrels were versatile instrumentalists and skilled improvisors. Faillon, retained at Avignon in 1478 by René d'Anjou, played the shawm, cornemuse and dulcimer, his colleague Mengin, the trumpet and sackbut.⁴⁷ German minstrels were particularly prized for the excellence of their instruments, held to be the best in Europe. At one time or another, all three courts had at least one German representative - Henry Planzouf was attached to the court of Louis d'Orléans between 1393 and 1398, Herbelin (or Albelin) from 1393 to 1413.⁴⁸ In the 1470s "Henry Alman trompette" and "l'Alman joueur de luts", as well as two Swiss minstrels, were retained by René d'Anjou.⁴⁹ Yet it is the court of Savoy which under the enlightened and discriminating musical patronage of a series of dukes and their consorts, consistently sought out the talented German minstrels, and particularly to adorn important ceremonials. In December 1402, as part of his preparations prior to the arrival of his wife from Burgundy, Amédée VIII dispatched Herman (alias "le priour", alias "Andreas Orenbrox de alamagnia") to

his homeland to fetch a "compagnion menestier".⁵⁰ Similarly, in November 1415, with a view to his elevation to duke the following February, Henry and Jaquinot visited Germany "trover deux bons menestriers". Three years later Marie de Bourgogne sent François, her harpist, to Germany in the train of the new duchess of Bavaria, Mathilde d'Achaie, "pour appranre de l'arpe".⁵² Continuing a pattern established the previous century, the dukes were diligent in providing the minstrels with the financial wherewithal to attend the annual reunions or "scolae", important for the exchange of repertoires. In 1403, Henymant Papagay and Hans were given twenty seven escus d'or "pro eundo ad scholas mosice seu menistrerie".⁵³ The sixty florins given to Jehan Morellet, Jehan Blondellet and Jaquemot Clement "pour aler aus escoles" was as much as their annual pensions.⁵⁴ Reynaud "le petit alpeur" to Marie de Bourgogne was sent to the school at Pont de Veyle in February 1417, while the following year he spent studying music under a songmaster at Pont de Beauvoisin.⁵⁵ As with the northern schools at St. Omer, Cambrai or Ypres, these annual trips seem to have lost their importance towards the middle of the century, the last minstrels being sent in 1429, an additional indication, perhaps, of the transference of musical learning and prestige away from the minstrelsy to the ducal chapel.⁵⁶

However indispensable at court, the minstrel's position within the court hierarchy was relatively modest. In the lists of "étrennes" of both the courts of Anjou and Savoy, they rank alongside the non-noble household officers, "valets de chambre", chamberwomen, falconers and messengers.⁵⁷ Court minstrels could hope to receive a fairly stable income in both money and kind - "étrennes", liveries, ex gratia

payments over and above their wages or pensions - and though less free than their peripatetic brothers, enjoyed far greater security and monetary prospects. This explains why many remained with their lord in the face of massive arrears of wages. Colle d'Averse, trumpeter in the household of René d'Anjou, received arrears of 2 years and 8 months wages in 1447,⁵⁸ while Hermand "le priour" was still, in 1417, receiving part of the wages owed him from his service with Amédée VI in Naples in 1383.⁵⁹ Largesse dispensed at festivals, tournaments and banquets were the legitimate expectations of minstrels, and the obligation of the prince, and alongside gifts of horses, clothes and new instruments, gratuities such as the 15 ducats given by René to "Gentil Garson" his "taborin", to go to Paris to visit his wife, added considerably to their income.⁶⁰ These may have been all the more essential, as the level of their wages does not seem to have risen dramatically during the course of the fifteenth century. In the 1470s the monthly wage of René's minstrels was 4 escus, rising to 6 escus for Mengin the trumpeter, while in the 1440s, his counterpart, Colle d'Averse was earning 4 escus.⁶¹ In the early years of the century Colinet Bourgeois' income was severely reduced following the death of his master Louis d'Orléans and the financial difficulties of his son. Earning 25 livres tournois in 1396, rising to 50 in 1403, by 1413 he received only 15 livres.⁶² At Savoy the disparity in pensions between the minstrels and their musical cousins, the chapel choir, greatly increased as the century progressed. In 1434 Jehan d'Ostende, "magistro citare" received 40 florins, "Guilliot le Chantre", 50 florins.⁶³ By 1466, after Amédée IX's reorganisation of the chapel structure, however, the

choirister, depending on his rank and experience, was earning 100 to 200 florins while in 1478 Jehan de Columbier, rebec player was given 30 florins and Pierre Moris, "tinpanarus" 20 florins.⁶⁴

The greater financial rewards bestowed on the choristers, is a reflection of their university training, the superiority of religious over secular music and the emergence of the private chapel as "one of the more obvious components of the ritual of princely ostentation".⁶⁵ Polyphony, mastered in the northern European cathedrals, complemented the gravitas of court ritual, its complex harmonic arrangements bestowing dignity and considerable éclat on solemn ceremonial occasions. The contribution of the chapel to the pomp of funerals, marriages or the signing of treaties, is rarely directly alluded to in descriptions of these events. Yet Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, present at the marriage of Louis de Savoie in 1434, was unreserved in his admiration of the ducal choir. On the day after the marriage ceremony he joined the other guests in the chapel at Chambéry to hear mass:

"laquelle fut celebree par levesque de Morienne et chantee par les chappellains du duc, tant melodieusement que c'estoit belle chose a oïr: car pour leure on tenoit la chapelle du duc la meilleur du monde, du nombre qu'ilz estoient".⁶⁶

Saint-Rémy's tribute is in one sense misleading, as the measure of a chapel's worth or reputation, did not rest on its size alone. In 1434, the musical complement of the Savoyard chapel was fairly modest - eight choiristers, three "enfants de la chapelle" and their master Adam⁶⁷ - significantly less than the seventeen chaplains and two tenors in the royal chapel in 1422.⁶⁸ And although the chapel of Charles d'Orléans was composed of the eminently respectable figure of fifteen choristers in 1455, it did not attract the plaudits which throughout the century, were lavished on its Savoyard counterpart.⁶⁹ When René

d'Anjou established his own private chapel choir, or "maîtrise", in May 1449, he set the ceiling at twelve choristers,⁷⁰ and despite numbering at almost half of the prestigious choir of Charles the Bold, it achieved distinction.⁷¹ When René died in 1480, the choristers were quickly snapped up by Louis XI who, according to Bourdigné, "knew that they were the best to be found".⁷²

The prestige of Amédée VIII's chapel in 1434, was undoubtedly enhanced by the presence of the most eminent composer of his day, Guillaume Dufay. One of Dufay's own compositions, the mass "Et in Terra", subtitled "De Quaremiaux", was performed appropriately on Shrove Tuesday, two days after the wedding. His attachment to the chapel in the official capacity of "magistro capelle", a post normally reserved for a distinguished ecclesiastic or important composer, was a remarkable coup. The man, once described by Piero de Medici as "the greatest ornament of our age", was the object of intense competition between both French and Italian courts.⁷³ Dufay can only have remained in Savoy some eighteen months before more lucrative commissions lured him southwards, but his connection with the dukes of Savoy was an enduring one, and brought him back for a second period in the 1450s. Establishing the precise chronology of this second visit, continues to exercise musicologists. In his testament Dufay left money to Pierre de Wez for having looked after his house in Cambrai "during the seven years he lived in Savoy".⁷⁴ At the end of May 1450, he spent five days in Turin at the expense of the duke and it is probably shortly after this that he left the service of the duke of Burgundy for that of Louis.⁷⁵ The following year, a letter from the duke describing him as "conseiller et maistre de chapelle" requested his return to court, while in 1455, he appears as

executor to André Picard, chorister, again designated as "magister capellae".⁷⁶

It is during this period, that the chapel underwent its most radical growth - rising from ten choristers in 1442, to an impressive twenty two in 1460-61.⁷⁷ The financial input such an expansion must have entailed and Louis' determination to secure Dufay's talents a second time, reveal the extent of the duke's musical ambitions and connoisseurship. In 1443 he had commissioned Dufay to write a motet celebrating the treaty between Freiburg and Berne and Savoy's role as guarantor ("Illustrious Savoy, guarantor and guardian of the peace, ratifies your treaties: Louis, the heir, and the count Philippe, look at the noble weight of their friendship").⁷⁸ The Chronica's sideswipe gives further testimony to Louis' delight in the performance of music and song ("gloriabatur audire quotidie cantus and cantilenas").⁷⁹ Louis' chapel was one success story in an otherwise sorry period of bungling and mismanagement. The continued patronage of his son, Amédée IX and daughter-in-law Yolande, was to raise the chapel to new heights and an international reputation. A complete reorganisation of the chapel was made in the 1460s. In 1469, Yolande established the "College des Innocens", composed of six boys ("adolescentum seu puerorum innocentarium") aged between six and fifteen, under the tutelage of a "master of music" and a "master of grammar", responsible for their instruction in musical theory and composition.⁸⁰ Yolande's programme of reforms also involved the architectural embellishment of the Sainte Chapelle at Chambéry, housing the Turin Shroud, and the installation of a fixed "grans orgues" under the direction of Mestre Jehan Piez, to replace the portative organ used previously.⁸¹ Though based in Chambéry, the chapel and particularly

the "Innocens", often followed the court on its peregrinations north and south of the Alps, where it attracted the attentions of the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, rivals in their efforts to employ the most prestigious choristers. It was a compliment to the standing of the Savoyard chapel that Galeazzo Maria Sforza should borrow a number of its choristers and then make an unsuccessful bid to retain them for his own growing chapel. More successfully, he lured its "abbé des chantres", Anthoine Guignat, with the carrot of the direction of his own choristers.⁸²

Competition for talented singers was acute as all discriminating patrons sought them in Flanders and Burgundy and particularly the regions of Picardy and Cambrai, areas traditionally reputed as the best recruiting grounds. Tenors from Picardy were considered particularly prestigious. The two extant accounts illuminating the establishment of René d'Anjou's chapel in the years 1449 to 1454, reveal his pursuit of excellence in the recruiting missions of his chaplains to Germany, Paris, Brittany and Picardy.⁸³ Vetting was rigorous. Philippot Maydon, brought to Anjou for a trial period, was rejected.⁸⁴ His replacement, Tassin d'Havresche (or Eustache Chavendel), from the diocese of Cambrai, was the sole tenor in the choir and remunerated accordingly - 8 escus per month as opposed to 6 for the others.⁸⁵

The appearance in René's chapel of Josquin des Pres, whose origins were also in Cambrai, but whose talents had been nourished in the cathedral choir at Milan and the duke's private chapel, goes some way to filling the gap in our knowledge of his whereabouts between 1476 and 1479. The documentation is slight but significant. In April 1477, he appears as witness to the testament of Jean Giraud

wherein he is described as "clericus et cantor capelle". Almost two years later, on 26 March 1479, he is granted the vicariate of the collegiate church of Sainte Marie de Bar.⁸⁶ His presence in the chapel is more significant in retrospect as des Pres' international reputation as a composer was far from established. Unlike Dufay, he would have reflected only a minimal glory onto René's chapel.

Short term residencies, such as Dufay's and des Pres', were very common. The higher the calibre of the musician, the more likely he was to be tempted away to another private or ecclesiastical chapel. Etienne le Mayre, or "le Mol", in the chapel of Charles d'Orléans in 1457, pops up in Savoy two years later, perhaps brought back by Janus de Savoie who had spent some seven months at Blois, during which time, he was given singing lessons by another ducal chorister, Charlot.⁸⁷ The composer Eloi Damerval, colleague of Dufay, remained as a tenor in Louis de Savoie's chapel for little over a year.⁸⁸ Men like these brought a refreshing injection of new talent and ideas, as well as new music, to the more permanent core of the chapel, some of whom remained loyal to the one chapel for decades. Tassin d'Havresche was a stalwart of René's choir from 1450 to 1478.⁸⁹ Pierre Barbier or Donnel, brought from Brittany in October 1450, was still there in 1472.⁹⁰ Similarly, in Savoy, Jehan Fontaine is found between the years 1449 and 1471,⁹¹ Mermet de Verchieres between 1459 and 1478⁹² and Jehan Ranguis, more incredibly, between 1453 and 1500.⁹³ Such loyalty brought its own rewards. Educated men, their opportunities for preferment both within the chapel and the household and without, placed them in a very different league from the minstrels. "clerc de chapelle" in 1465, de Verchieres became almoner by 1467 and "orateur" by

1474.⁹⁴ Jean de Montegny, royal secretary and treasurer of the chapel, became bishop of Glandeves in 1468.⁹⁵ For the careerist, there were great possibilities. Lucrative prebends, used to attract skilled singers, were a valuable supplement to the chorister's income. Dufay was made rector of Versoix in the diocese of Geneva.⁹⁶ Tassin d'Havresche accumulated benefices at St. Sauveur, Aix and Barjols before he became rector of the university of Aix in 1474.⁹⁷ Barthelemy Chuet, arriving in the Savoyard chapel from Dijon in 1444, rose to become Bishop of Nice in 1462, having held the posts of "receveur des assignations des chantres" (1449), "premier chappellain" and ducal councillor (1458).⁹⁸

The superiority of the choristers over the minstrels was further compounded by their versatility in both secular and sacred music. The Chansonnier Cordeforme, illuminated in Savoy during Yolande's regency, includes secular pieces by Dufay, Ockeghem and Binchois. Dufay's talent lay in the width of his scope and the high quality of his output - composing "ballata" to celebrate the marriage of Carlo Malatesta (1423) and the election of Eugenius IV (1431). His "Je ne vis oncques la pareille" was sung at the "Banquet of the Pheasant".⁹⁹ On a less elevated level, the versatility of the choristers is exemplified by the instance of Jean Vilaige, receiving a gift of grey woollen cloth for having "monstre des chancons oux menestrelz".¹⁰⁰

The intrusion of members of the chapel in court festivities because of their musical abilities is recorded on numerous occasions. The youth of the novices of the "College des Innocens" probably also explains their participation in the energetic "morisque" for

"caremeprenant" in 1470 and other "ludis et Istoria" for Twelfth Night in 1469.¹⁰¹ a morisque performed at the wedding of Alleran Provana at Moncalieri in 1475 involved Guillaume le Parisien, "abbé des chantres", Hugues de Montfort or "Golbet", "maistre des enfans" and the six novices.¹⁰² In 1452, four of René's choristers, Guillem Guillemart, Hacquet de Roddes, Pierre Barbier and Jehan de Montegny, were reimbursed for a number of items of clothing for "certaines farses".¹⁰³ The musical and dramatic expertise of the chapel choir, competent at a variety of levels and for a range of occasions, from the most solemn to the frivolous, made them a valuable, and increasingly prestigious sector of the prince's household.

After 1450, the capacity of some courts for self-sufficiency in the domain of court entertainment, was increased by the employment of men whose theatrical skills were harnessed by the prince to cater for the enthusiasm of the aristocracy for farces. There was, of course, nothing novel about theatrical representation at court, but previously this had been performed by a variety of itinerant "tragiteurs", "bateleurs", "histriones", "apparitores" and "joculatores", the precise content of whose performances, we may only now surmise.¹⁰⁴ The courts did not cease to welcome their multifarious talents, but found it increasingly desirable to have on call, the talents of their own "farseurs".

The farce made perfect court entertainment. Popular in essence, comic and ridiculous, its primary goal was to amuse rather than edify, by milking a series of stereotyped characters and situations, rather than the esoteric allegory of much of court festival. Relying on the minimum of costumes or stage props, and with a limited "dramatis personae" (generally between two and eight

characters), its performance was eminently suitable for the confines of the banquetting hall or the prince's own chambers. In June 1479 a "batelleur" performed a farce for René d'Anjou, "en la salle de nostre palais d'aix": the next January the professional troupe, the "Galans Sans Soucy" entertained him "en la petite salle de nostre dit palais".¹⁰⁵ While he was eating his supper, at Chinon in November 1444, Charles d'Orléans was diverted by a farce performed by a number of children.¹⁰⁶ While "mommeries" and "morisques" along with "entremets", having more visual impact, were preferred for spectacular occasions, it is nevertheless extremely difficult to make sound deductions about the audience of the farces. Evidence from Savoy, Anjou and Orléans suggests that on most occasions the farces were ad hoc entertainments for the prince and some of his household, yet, in 1409, a number of "jeux ou farces" were presented at Angers "devant la royne Yolant et ses gens" during which performance, a thief cut off the sleeve of her dress and made off with 10 sous and her seal.¹⁰⁷

Louis d'Orléans was exceptional in retaining four "Joueux de personnaiges et esbatemens" between the years 1394 and 1396.¹⁰⁸ His son Charles, however, continued to rely heavily on outside entertainers, be it the children of Chinon or the barbers of Blois.¹⁰⁹ More enlightened and sophisticated patrons of the dramatic arts, René d'Anjou and the dukes of Savoy employed two professional "farseurs" whose careers have some interesting parallels. Both Jehan du Perier dit "le Prieur" and Perinet de Normes began their careers performing with professional companies. We find them both at Paris, early 1451, each, with his companions, recompensed by René for the performance of

"plusieurs farces".¹¹⁰

By August of the following year Le Prieur was receiving wages as René's "valet de chambre", with additional sums paid for a number of farces in the months of August and October.¹¹¹ De Normes, meanwhile, reappears at Nevers in September 1454, recompensed for "certains jeux de farses et esbatemens" by Philip the Good.¹¹² It was the end of the decade before he was attached to Louis de Savoie's household.

Le Prieur was undoubtedly the more talented of the two, a talent René nurtured, resulting in the production and composition of at least three mystery plays - the "Mystere du Roy Advenir" performed at Angers in June 1455, deploying no less than 116 characters over three days, and involving complex visual effects; the "Resurrection" in May 1456 with a cast of 140; and finally the "Mystère des Actes des Apotres" at Tarascon, 1478. René's personal involvement in these projects is confirmed by this passage in the prologue to the "Mystère du Roy Advenir":

"Pourveu que ma fragilite
ne mon sens dont moult petit he
n'est pour telle matere entreprendre
mais au gre du roy, qui mande
le m'a, m'y suis aventure.."113

These were high profile affairs, conferring considerable kudos on the king, yet, performed out of doors on specially constructed stages in the town squares of Angers, Saumur, Aix and Tarascon, the expenditure falling primarily on the inhabitants of these towns, with some input of initial enthusiasm and patronage, expertise and a little financial assistance from René, these were not truly court entertainments.¹¹⁴ Le Prieur's role in their production illustrate again, however, this fundamental duality of the role of the prince's

servant, enhancing his public image - by praising and alluding to his virtues in the body of the text of the mystery - and catering for his private needs - in this case his personal amusement and pleasure.

René has been called "le plus grand mécène du théâtre français du moyen âge",¹¹⁵ but the court of Savoy too, reveals an unexpected wealth of activity in the field of early drama. The Chronica Latina Sabaudiae informs us that Louis loved "the entertainments commonly called farces ... so much so, that he would have preferred to lose a good castle than miss one. In hiis erat gloria sua".¹¹⁶ Perinet de Normes first appears at court among the duke's two dozen archers in 1460.¹¹⁷ At that date Louis also employed the services of "Olivier le farceur", listed alongside the "escripvains et illumineurs" of the household, which suggests that he may have composed as well as performed.¹¹⁸ There is, strangely, no evidence of Perinet's activities as an entertainer until after Louis' death. Although the speciality of Yolande's court were "mommeries" and "morisques", she clearly enjoyed farces. In February 1467, she gave four ducats (9 florins) to "Perinet de mornes [sic], Jadis archier de feu monsieur le duc, lequeulx madite dame ly a donne pour soy entretenir veu qu'il na nul gages et pour cause quil Joye souveteffoys devant madite dame des farces". By 1468, Perinet has become an official member of the household, described as "Joyeur des farses de mondit seigneur" and "maistre des farses" the following year.¹¹⁹

De Normes' talent, if less well known than Le Prieur's, was also less prodigious. Though as a professional "farseur" he would have had a considerable repertoire, his abilities probably lay in performance

rather than composition. On the two occasions when farces were to be presented at court celebrations and therefore in front of a large audience, viz. Christmas 1468 and the marriage of Janne de Mousix to Ysobbe d'Avanchier in 1473, Yolande dispatched de Normes to Geneva "pour acheter des farses".¹²⁰ Both "farseurs", however, benefited from the financial security of being attached to a princely household, and as this was very much part-time work, both were gainfully employed in the household management. Le Prieur was promoted from "valet de chambre" to "mareschal des logis" in the 1460s, remaining with René until the latter's death. His final appearance in the accounts concerns the payment of 15 florins for writing an epitaph.¹²¹ De Normes remained at court until his death in October 1477 in the less elevated post of "conduyteur des bagues", responsible for the safe transport of the duchess' luggage during her constant peregrinations.¹²²

A considerable and unexpected wealth of material illuminating court drama and entertainment, survives in the household accounts of Savoy.¹²³ While it is the court of Louis and Anne which has achieved a notoriety for its magnificence in the face of political trauma, the bulk of the evidence relates to the relatively brief period of Amédée IX and the regency of Yolande. Beset by factionalism within its borders and faced with the ambitions of rapacious neighbours, the political circumstances of the second half of the fifteenth century seem hardly propitious for a thriving court life. The dramas of these years have distracted historians' attentions away from the singular and vital court which had developed in this Alpine region, where Yolande imprinted her own personal style on a court already famed for its patronage of the arts.

Yolande spread her enthusiasms widely, welcoming the performance of mysteries, moralities, farces and mommeries. In 1465 she absorbed the costs of the erection of the stage in the castle courtyard at Chambéry, the location for the three day "Destolacion de saint Jehan Baptiste".¹²⁴ The following year, in the same place, she and her husband witnessed the "Transfiguration des Troys Roys".¹²⁵ In June 1470 fifty "gentilzhommes bourgoys" from Montmelian arrived to stage "La Moralité de Sainte Suzanne", lodged and fed in Chambéry at ducal expense.¹²⁶ Three months later, the smaller scale "Moralité de l'Enfant de Perdinon" was mounted there starring Perinet de Normes.¹²⁷ In Yolande's library, she had manuscripts of "Le Jeu de Barlaam" which she saw performed at Chambéry in September 1469, "Le jeu sainte marie a personaiges", "L'Histoire saint alexis en parsonnaiges" and "La destruction de Jherusalem a parsonaiges pour Jouer".¹²⁸ Her greatest enthusiasm, however, was reserved for those entertainments which incorporated music, artistry, mechanics, theatre and dance - entremets, mommeries and morisques. In the 1460s and 1470s, these far surpassed all other forms of theatrical and ceremonial display in popularity. Between 1465 and 1478 over thirty incidences of their performance, involving the ad hoc purchase of materials and accessories, requiring the talents of a variety of craftsmen, may be traced in the accounts of the Treasurers General. And these may only be a portion of those actually performed as the accounts only note when new costumes were made or when the trunk containing "les abillemens de la mommerie" were moved from one castle for use at another.¹²⁹

The "entremets" originated in the culinary world, the masterpieces of the master cooks, elaborate "pièces montées", confections of meat paste and pastry.¹³⁰ The "Du Fait de Cuisine", a treatise preserving the skills and knowledge of "maitre Chiquard" commissioned by his master, Amédée VIII, describes these in considerable detail. Drawing its inspiration (and many recipes) from the "Viandier" of Taillevent, Chiquart describes the fabrication of the mounted swans and peacocks, their wings spread as if in midflight, which often formed the centrepiece of the banquet, a boar's head "glazed or emblazoned and breathing fire", and, more complex, a "raised entremets" of a castle, borne on a four man litter, composed of four towers "fortified with bretèches and machicolations", each guarded by archers and crossbowmen. At the foot of each tower was positioned a boar's head, a pike, a glazed piglet and a "skinned and redressed swan ... breathing fire". In the castle courtyard a "Fountain of Love" gushed rosewater and mulled wine alongside which was placed a redressed peacock ("and make it spread open its tail and hold its neck up higher as if it were alive, fixed on a wooden stick"). In the castle grounds were hares, hounds, stags, wild boars and huntsmen, all moulded in meat paste.¹³¹

Gradually the "entremets" encompassed a more theatrical element, involving speech, music and real people. In 1434, as part of the entremets at Chambéry during the wedding festivities of Louis de Savoie, wildmen ("sauvages") bore a huge rosefilled garden made of wax into the hall, in the midst of which a billygoat was securely tied. The next day was even more bizarre - a man disguised as an eagle, burst out of a pastry case and a host of white doves flew out

from under his wings.¹³² The "subtilitibus et disgicionibus diversis" performed on the evening of Marguerite d'Anjou's engagement at Tours in 1444, employed a theme popular to the *entremets* since the famous representation of the taking of Jerusalem at Charles V's banquet of 1378 - a simulated assault or battle. Two giants entered the hall, each carrying a tree, followed by two camels each bearing a tower on its back. In each tower were armed men fighting and throwing lances at each other.¹³³ Curiously, though René had frequently witnessed *entremets* - he was at Chambéry in 1434, and there were *entremets* at the banquet at Lille in 1435 to celebrate his release from prison - those in 1444 are the only record of his incursion into this area of entertainment.¹³⁴

The added ingredients of music and dialogue feature prominently in the *entremets* performed as part of a banquet held at Paris in January 1402 at the court of Louis d'Orléans, preserved in Christine de Pisan's poem Le Dit de la Rose. Here also, emerges the importance of mechanical effects. During the banquet, "Dame Loyauté" messenger of the God of Love, descends from the ceiling surrounded by a brilliant light and in the midst of a host of nymphs and maidens:

"Atout chapples de fleurettes
Qui chantoient par grant revel
Hault et cler un motet nouvel".

"Dame Loyauté" presents each of the company with a rose, enjoining each to take the vow to defend women, qualifying them for entry into the "Ordre de la Rose". The *entremets* employs a popular allegorical theme - the "Dieu d'Amours" and his court - and the poem alludes to another hallmark of the *entremets* - its exclusivity. While the mystery or morality play, tournament, funeral or "entrée" were all

played out publicly to a large audience, the entremets' audience was necessarily limited to the capacity of the banquetting hall. According to Christine, the banquet took place "en maison close ... la fu bien fermee la porte", while only "nobles gens, riches donnour et beaulx et gens ... des plus prisiez et mieulx assez Du tres noble duc d'Orléans" attended.¹³⁵

The entremets could embody a subtle or unsubtle political message though the intention was generally to divert, entertain and amuse. Such were also the prime objectives of the morisques and mommeries, using the media of music and dance. The morisque was the theatrical dance "par excellence" of the 15th century. Its origins were Spanish, "morisco" being the slightly derogatory name given to those Moors who had converted to Christianity. Performers were frequently disguised, their faces sometimes blackened to resemble Moors. While dancing was recognised in the fifteenth century as an essential component of all court festivity, and the following century, Thoinet Arbeau in his influential compendium of court dances, the Orchesography, even claimed that "in addition to diverse other merits attendant on dancing, it has become essential for the good governing of society",¹³⁶ the morisque contrasted dramatically with the most popular court dance of the later Middle Ages, the "basse danse". Where the latter was measured and stately with gliding steps - "basse" here meaning earthbound - the morisque was lively and energetic to the point of being grotesque, involving rigorous stamping of the foot or heel. Moreover, while the former was processional, reflecting the current social order in its internal hierarchy, and obeying a strict choreography, the morisque was anarchic and often improvised.

The morisque has a very long history at the court of Savoy, predating its appearance at the courts of Anjou, Orléans or Burgundy. In 1390, the accounts show payments made for a quantity of bells and costumes for Amédée VII and his squires "ad faciendum solacium vocatum la moresche".¹³⁷ Strangely, no further reference to them appears in the accounts until their resurgence at court in the 1440s. In the second half of the century, they have most often been associated with René d'Anjou, partly because of his known predilection for the exotic. From the accounts, this reputation seems scarcely justified. The surviving records reveal a tally of only eight morisques in five years, and of these only two entailed any significant preparation - the "Morisque des Serenes" in January 1478, and the "Morisque du Roy Adrastus" a month later. For the former, part of the expenditure was met by the town of Marseilles.¹³⁸

The mommerie was an early form of pantomime. The dance the "mummers" often performed was the morisque though the terminology is not straightforward and the two terms are often used interchangeably. Mommerie derives from the word "momer" meaning "to mask". An important element of the mommerie was the disguising of the performers as a series of stock characters drawn from the world of myth, chivalric romance literature or the bible. The English word "mum" derives from the same root and some historians of the dance have thereby concluded that silence was the feature distinguishing it from its successor in popularity, the Italian masquerade. Though showing some of the characteristics of the mommerie, the masquerade involved male and masked dancers mingling and conversing with the onlookers

before drawing them into the dance. The mommerie, however, maintained a physical, and therefore, psychological distance between the audience and the colourful, bizarre and burlesque scenes represented before them. Rare at the courts of Orléans and Anjou, they are first attested at Savoy in 1422 at the visit of Philip the Good to Thonon:

"et furent mis ingeniaires en besongne pour trouver et inventer nouveaux moyens de passetemps commes nouvelles facons de joustes et tournois, estranges sortes de masques et mommeries".¹³⁹

At the court of Savoy, the complexity of a mommerie or morisque was graded according to the importance of the occasion for which it was performed. At the most basic were, for example, morisques danced by "Jaquet varlet de sale" in the presence of Yolande and a restricted number of her courtiers in November 1469, or a mommerie staged by the duchess' young daughters, Marie and Louise, at Moncalieri on St Catherine's day (25 November) 1473. On both occasions, the expenses involved were minimal - two ducats payment in the case of the former, six florins "pour toyle et aultres menues bagues" for the latter.¹⁴⁰ More complex and costly events were the mommeries staged as part of the festivities following the marriages of favoured members of a limited court circle. When Janne de Mouxy, one of Yolande's favourite ladies-in-waiting, married Ysobbe d'Avanchier at the end of December 1473, thus in the midst of the Christmas celebrations, over seventy florins were invested in the costumes - twelve florins alone, to the embroiderers and artists responsible for embellishing them. The material used for the costumes was not costly - "fusteyne" a cotton/wool mix normally used for undergarments, was not a luxury cloth. More expensive, were the 28 pounds of "or quiclant" and "argent batu",

the gold and silver thread which garnished them.¹⁴¹

When Alleran Provana married Marie, the daughter of Ruffin de Murs, General of Savoy, at Moncalieri in January 1475, well over 100 florins were spent on the costumes used in two morisques performed on the 8th and 9th. The expenditure involved may doubtless be ascribed to the presence of ambassadors from Milan and Burgundy and "beaucoup de dames de thurin que madite dame fait venir pour veoir ladite feste", a public event therefore, requiring careful attention to presentation. Twelve large banners and 150 small pennons were made, displaying the ducal arms and those of the guests.¹⁴² According to Chiquart,

"because things should be done so honourably as to be to the honour of the lord and the chief workers, the Master Cook should ask the heralds to inquire of their lord who will be at that feast to find out what arms each of them has, so that those arms can be put on banners, in order to set on each Boar's Head, the banner of the lord in front of whom it will be placed".¹⁴³

Full blown theatrical displays were reserved for the visits of ambassadors, visiting aristocrats and other dignitaries. "Kings and princes", says Arbeau, "give dances and masquerades for amusement and in order to afford a joyful welcome to foreign nobles".¹⁴⁴ The arrival at Chambéry of Janus, c^{te} de Genève and his wife in December 1476, coinciding with the visits of ambassadors from France, Milan and Montferrat, was the grounds for a lavish banquet. Approximately 215 florins were spent "tant en morisques, mommeries entremes viandes couvertes et aultres choses" - costumes, ostrich feathers, 35 lb "or clicant", 1800 "follies dargent" for a varied cast of Goliath, a "cappitaine" and four maidens and nine "petis homes darmes", all fabricated in wax or cloth, and the moors, fool and other dancers of the morisque. As in 1434, miniature gardens

in wax, of red and white flowers and branches of foliage, were used to decorate the dishes, and four artists spent nine days on the preparations including gilding the boar's head and other entremets and in covering the masks ("visaiges des morisqueulx") in silver leaf.¹⁴⁵ When the brother of Galeazzo Maria Sforza visited the court at Ivrea in 1474, considerable efforts were made to welcome the Milanese in a dignified fashion. Eighty additional staff were hired to serve the ambassadors in their lodgings at St Yore, freshly furnished with all manner of buffets, tables, beds and tapestries. A quantity of plate was borrowed for the banquet, to supplement the duke's own supplies.¹⁴⁶

"For the sake of decency and cleanliness", says Chiquart, "and to speed the service as much as possible, you must have a great supply of dishes, of gold, silver, pewter and wood, that is to say, four thousand or more of them, in such quantity that when you have presented the first serving you will have enough for the second serving and still some left over".¹⁴⁷

Between 6 and 13 February 1475, the court at Turin played host to Frederick, Prince of Tarento, son of King Ferrante of Naples and the future husband of Yolande's daughter Anne. His entourage numbered as many as 500 servants, all of whom were lodged and nourished for the first three days, as was customary, at Yolande's expense, "a grant triumphe et toute oultrance", the 75 of the prince's closest retainers, housed in the Bishop's palace, maintained for the remaining five days also, "tousiours triumpement". Their upkeep amounted to well over 1400 florins. The entertainment organised for the banquet held in the prince's honour on the 7th, cost over 400 florins and the accounts indicate that they were particularly splendid. All around the banquet hall hung banners displaying the arms of Savoy, King Ferrante and Burgundy and Milan, a forceful

reminder of Savoy's powerful new allies, for only the previous month, Yolande had finalised an important treaty allying Savoy with her two neighbours. Frederick was the son of an important King, a potential suitor and ally; the welcome he received was therefore tailored not only to reflect and respect his status, but, furthermore, to impress him with the dignity of the Savoyard dynasty.¹⁴⁸

It has been said that the morisques were not strictly speaking "court dances", that they did not belong to those "which a courtier may dance without some loss of propriety".¹⁴⁹ It was beneath the dignity of Philip the Good or Charles the Bold to partake in such jollifications, thus mainly professional dancers performed them at the court of Burgundy. Elsewhere, the etiquette was less rigorous. The only reference to a morisque at the court of Orléans relates to a costume covered in half a pound of "cliquant" made for Pierre de Beaujeu, brother of the duc de Bourbon.¹⁵⁰ Although at Savoy, Amédée VIII had sought to introduce elements of the court style and customs he had witnessed and admired on his visits to Burgundy, under his successors, the atmosphere at court was very much more relaxed. Louis, Anne and Philippe, c^{te} de Genève were among the eighteen courtiers who performed a mommerie "la nuyt de caresmentrant", 1440.¹⁵¹ When Charles, duc de Bourbon, visited the court in August 1441, he joined with the duke and ten others in a mommerie.¹⁵² On selective occasions Yolande herself was also to be found among the dancers. As a mark of her special favour and affection, she joined eleven of her ladies-in-waiting and twelve of the gentlemen of her household, in the performance of a morisque at the wedding of Catherine de Genève in 1471.¹⁵³ Catherine,

appearing regularly in the lists of the duchess' companions at court from 1465 onwards, was the frequent beneficiary of gifts.¹⁵⁴ But this is a rare honour and Yolande's participation is never noted on occasions when visiting dignitaries were present, perhaps considered too great a lapse of etiquette.

More commonly noted is the involvement of the young duke Philibert and his siblings. These are frequently small scale mommeries or morisques entailing next to no expense performed before their mother in the privacy of her own quarters, such as the 6 gros for "or cliquant" for costumes for Marie and Louise "et les aultres fillie de la court" to perform a mommerie "en la chambre de madame", where Yolande was recuperating after the birth of Philibert.¹⁵⁵ At the wedding banquet held for Catherine de Genève, the young Philibert, all of six years old, danced a morisque with his brother Charles, aged three, and their two sisters.¹⁵⁶ The four children often combined with that other youthful sector of the court community, the pages (including Lancelot du Lans) in a mommerie.¹⁵⁷ Ten years on, Philibert, Charles and their brother Jaques-Louis, joined three pages, "lesqueulx on fait une maumerie pour festoye l'ambassade de millayn qui vien devers le Roy de France".¹⁵⁸ Again, the children rarely perform when important guests were entertained, when, perhaps, the quality of the presentation was held to be of particular importance. An exception, however, was made for the novices of the "College des Innocens", who may have been involved because of their musical skills.

The most significant group performing in the mommeries and morisques were drawn from a fairly restricted number of household officers and ladies-in-waiting. They did not hold the highest or most responsible positions at court, nor, generally, did they

belong to the most powerful Savoyard or Piedmontese clans, or, if they did, they were junior relatives. Moreover, they were predominantly young. There may be a practical reason for this: latter quality, the antics of the mommeries and the acrobatics of the morisques must have required energy if not agility. The disparate nature of the Savoyard territories and the demands of an active participation in external affairs, combined to remove many of the most influential members of the court for considerable periods. For these reasons, the male performers belong to the "middle management", heavily involved in the day-to-day running of the household. Consider, for example, the morisque presented at Rivoli in 1478 before the Milanese ambassador.¹⁵⁹ Thirteen gentlemen were involved. Glaude de Marcossey "maitre d'hotel" and Claude de Seyssel, Marshal of Savoy, may be said to represent the upper echelons of the court hierarchy.¹⁶⁰ The others were drawn primarily from the household squirearchy, such as François Bono de Allinge, s^r de Servete, whose wife Jeanne de St Trinier was one of the duchess' closest attendants; Hugonin (Gonyn) de Montfalcon, "escuier d'escuierie", responsible for carrying the ceremonial sword before the duke; Anthoine de la Forest, at this date "escuier tranchant", but later governor of the duke Charles; and Philippe de Visques, "escuier d'honneur".¹⁶¹ In 1471, de Montfalcon (at this date described merely as "escuier du duc") and de la Forest, performed a mommerie with Loys de Matafellon, "escuier du duc", Vaultier and Pierre de Chignin and Joffroy de Riveyrol, "escuiers d'escuierie".¹⁶² This is a pool of retainers remaining very loyal to Yolande throughout the 1470s. When Yolande was taken captive by Charles the Bold, it was Anthoine de la Forest who hid Philibert in a field and took him to safety. They form a stable group

around the duchess, with few fluctuations. This holds true of her female attendants, the same names occur again and again in the entertainments - Catherine de Genève, Catherine de Lornay, Jeanne de St Trinier and Anthoynette de Villars - and to this extent, it was a fairly exclusive group.

The commitment of this group to court entertainment is less surprising if we consider the duties of the "maîtres d'hotel" and "escuiers d'escuierie" as laid down in the Statuta Sabaudiae

"ambassadors and other eminent visitors coming to our court should be treated appropriately, visited and entertained according to their rank and status".¹⁶³

As chamberlain at the court of Louis de Savoie, Jacques de Challant fulfilled the same duties: "il ne venoit embassade de loing ne de pres a la court de Savoye qu'il n'eut charge de les conduire et festoier".¹⁶⁴

Yet these were not the men responsible for directing and creating the extravaganzas. Yolande did not have her Count Filippo Aglie, the artistic force behind the spectacular court fetes of Madame Royale, the Duchess Christina of Savoy; yet one man does emerge consistently from the accounts of 1469 onwards in connection with their organisation.¹⁶⁵

Lancelot de Lans first appears in the household in 1459, receiving "etrennes". Then only a young boy he is designated "lancellot filz de Jacques de Lans".¹⁶⁶ Jacques, originally from Lans in the Canavais, served as a squire in the household of Anne de Chypre before becoming "maitre de cuisine" in 1452. His wife also entered Anne's household as a "femme de chambre".¹⁶⁷ Lancelot followed in his father's footsteps, serving firstly as page from 1460 until 1468, then as "maitre de cuisine", a position setting him in charge of the kitchen finances.¹⁶⁸ Lancelot's aptitude for

things theatrical must have manifested itself early. Already in 1468, his name is linked to morisques performed by Marie and Louise with four pages (the accounts do not specify whether he was amongst them) and a mommerie staged by the pages at the banquet for Twelfth Night.¹⁶⁹ In 1470, he takes charge of the preparations and payments made for the "Moralité de Sainte Suzanne", performed at Chambéry.¹⁷⁰ He is similarly employed in 1474, for morisques organised for the visit of the Duke of Milan's brother in February, the visit of the Marchioness of Montferrat in September and the ambassadors of Milan and Burgundy in December; in 1475, for the entremets, morisques and mommeries for a banquet celebrating the arrival of the Prince of Tarento, and those given the following year for the count and countess of Geneva.¹⁷¹ His account for mommeries in connection with the visit of the Marchioness details payment to six "compaignons ... que mont ayde a toutes choses fere".¹⁷² He is often a key figure in their performance - as in 1475 where he leads an assorted cast of 16 in a complex mommerie at the nuptials of Alleran Provona.¹⁷³ While it is evidently he who co-ordinates all the behind the scenes activity, the precise extent of his artistic contribution is less clear. Yet the successful staging of these entertainments was not the outcome of his activities alone, but his fruitful co-operation with other members of the household, the master cooks, artists and musicians.

In 1474 there was a basic kitchen staff of twenty five - four "maitres cuez" headed by Mermet Brigant, five "cuisiniers", four bakers, two larders, a pastrymaker, poulterer and butcher and seven kitchen boys and scullions.¹⁷⁴ For special banquets, help was brought in from outside:-

"we must get Chief Cooks and workers who will make the dishes and entremets for that feast; and if it should turn out that these cooks and workers are not available, send someone to look for some in places where they can be found so that the feast can be done in a grand and honourable fashion".¹⁷⁵

In 1434, 64 florins and 6 deniers were distributed after the wedding festivities to "*pluribus cocis externeis pattisseries et aliis personis externeis que laboraverunt in coquina tempore nupciarum*".¹⁷⁶ Amédée VIII's appreciation of the role of the banquet as "the most satisfactory means by which to impress visiting neighbours and potentates and to gratify a taste for conspicuous opulence" is conveyed in his commission to his master cook, François Bossey or "maitre Chiquart", to preserve his culinary skills for posterity in the treatise "*Du Fait de Cuisine*". Although in his prologue, Chiquart comments that Amédée was "occasionally desirous of and inclined to making feasts and solemn banquets",¹⁷⁷ only descriptions of the seven magnificent banquets with entremets at Louis de Savoie's marriage have survived. Chiquart, however, describes in some detail, a number of the entremets presented at a banquet given in October 1403 for Amédée's father-in-law, Philip the Bold. From this repertoire, embodying many of the commonplaces of medieval chivalric literature, de Lans and Mermet Brigant drew many of their themes and ideas. For example, Chiquart describes a "Fountain of Love ... from which rosewater and mulled wine should gush through a spout".¹⁷⁸ Such perpetually flowing fountains were common since the thirteenth century, especially popular for princely "entrées". Servion mentions a fountain running with red and white wine, constructed at Chambéry "pour plus hault excellence", for the Emperor's visit in 1365.¹⁷⁹ Amédée VIII owned a "chambre de fonteynes doudieu damours"

while Yolande owned tapestry depicting the fountain of youth, a myth illustrated by Bapteur on the walls of the castle of Manta (Cuneo) belonging to the Marquises of Saluzzo.¹⁸⁰ In 1471, at a banquet held by Yolande at Chambéry for the "dames de ceste ville", a fountain in the castle courtyard "gestoit vin blanc et rouge", and in 1475, Jehan Piaz, "maitre des orgues", was responsible for setting up the hydraulics of a gilded fountain from which flowed red wine.¹⁸¹ Chiquart's elaborate crenellated raised entremets, the "castle of love", its four towers protected by archers, a group of musicians nestling inside the curtain walls "singing melodiously in such a way that they really seem to be sea sirens for the clarity of their singing", was another immensely popular theme.¹⁸² The castle of love, where the God of Love held court, was an enduring late medieval image, used in Le Chevalier Errant and in court entertainments from the banquet described in the "Dit de la Rose", to the God of Love at the court of Savoy in 1434, who, perched atop a wooden castle on the back of a counterfeit elephant, shot red and white roses from his bow and into the laps of the ladies.¹⁸³ It was considered a most apposite theme for a wedding. In 1474, a "dieu d'amours et les quatre deesses" were the central characters in a morisque "faicte a chastel damours et a xvi personnes", while the following year, the banquet for Frederick of Taranto, centred on a "chasteau damours", again appropriate given the reason for his visit.¹⁸⁴ The cooks task in the entrennes required skill and artistry as well as a phenomenal organisational ability, securing sufficient foodstuffs, kitchen equipment and additional staff, though in this he was

answerable to the "maitre de cuisine". The combination of the talents of the cook with the artist is demonstrated by the entremets for the banquet held at Chambéry on 15 December 1476. Nine castles were made each with a gatehouse and barbican and a tower at each corner made from papier mâché by "maitre Galliot pintre". At the foot of each tower a light burned to illuminate the food held within - namely 60 chickens wearing helmets, coats of arms of Louis XI, Philibert de Savoie, the Dauphine and the Marquis of Mantua, and bearing standards, to resemble men at arms.¹⁸⁵

The dukes of Savoy had an eclectic taste in the arts. Both the courts of Amédée VIII and his son Louis were notable for the cultivation of artists, and the fifteenth century saw the production there of a number of high quality illuminated manuscripts. Jehan Bapteur, Peronet Lamy, Colombe and Jacopo Jacquero all benefited from the fusion of influences - Burgundian, Germanic, Flemish, Provençal and Tuscan - which met in the duchy. Bapteur, "pictoris ducis" in the 1430s and 1440s, responsible for the masterpiece, "The Apocalypse" manuscript and the "Heures de Savoie", was the artistic force behind the mommerie and entremets at the banquet given in honour of Charles, duc de Bourbon in 1441.¹⁸⁶ His successor in the 1460s and 1470s was maître Nicolas Robert, a Piedmontese, who was primarily involved in coping with the demands of court festivities, while his other work, for example in the castle at Ivrea, was not nearly as masterful as Bapteur's.¹⁸⁷ Robert worked for the court between 1465 and 1477, his repertoire ranging from covering plates with gold and silver foil for the banquets to more complicated artwork.¹⁸⁸ He paints the banners in the ducal arms for the "banquet triumphans" given for the

Marchioness of Montferrat and models the dummies of St Maurice, two sirens and thirty two men-at-arms for the same event:¹⁸⁹

in 1475 he makes large giants and dwarves' heads for the dancers to wear at a morisque and later for a banquet at Carignani, paints the mummers' costumes with fleurs-de-lys and the initials A and Y interlaced.¹⁹⁰ Because of the amount of work involved in the preparation of the entremets for the banquet in honour of the Prince of Taranto - fabrication of nine sirens, a wildman, bear, serpent, boar and lion, 100 large banners and 400 small, as well as gilding the entremets - some of the minor tasks (gilding the fountain and painting the "bestes sauvages") were delegated to Maîtres Michiel and Bernard, both from nearby Pinerolo.¹⁹¹ We may gauge the comparative scale of the proceedings in 1434 if we consider that the additional artists brought from Lyon, Montluel, Grenoble, Romans, spent a total of 283 man-days on their preparation.¹⁹²

The artists work was vitally important, as, although there appears often to have been some element of speech, the primary emphasis was on visual impact. The first impression conveyed was of the bizarre, exotic or novel. The costumes worn were either cut in a distinctive style, and hence described as tailored "a la facon de momerie" or in the fashion of a foreign country - an "abilllement d'alent" was worn for a mommerie in 1475, "chapperons d'Allemagne" the year earlier.¹⁹³ In February 1471, Jehan Romans fashioned fourteen "chapironx au mode de Paris" for fourteen courtiers to "Jouyer une momerie a la facon de paris".¹⁹⁴ The court had abandoned the practice of sending to Paris for dress patterns, as had been the case for most of the fourteenth and early

years of the fifteenth century, so these costumes must have struck the audience as distinctive and significantly different from the norm, marking out the revellers immediately. They were also often brightly patterned, chequered or party-coloured, and the organisers made a concerted effort to surprise. In 1472 Monet de Gryeres, approached Maffiolo, a goldsmith, and Augustus, an embroiderer, both in Milan, and Nicolas Robert, "pro certis de pictura Argenterii et Aliis Novis Inventionibus per eos operatus" for fifty costumes for a mommerie.¹⁹⁵

All manner of accessories were added to heighten their comic or outlandish appearance. Most commonly applied, and the one with the most spectacular effect, was "or cliquant", fine copper wire used to embroider material like gold thread, or larger pieces like imitation gold leaf. Its popularity was also due to the ringing (hence "cliquant" or "clinquant") the pieces made as the dancer moved. In the "Glossaire", Laborde notes that it was only worn "par les laquais, les batteurs et les masques".¹⁹⁶ Some costumes may be positively identified as destined for a morisque, purely on the basis of its presence, as it never seems to have been employed on non-spectacular occasions. Take for instance a morisque performed before the assembled ambassadors of Anjou, Burgundy and Milan in December 1474. The costumes themselves were unremarkable in design and not very costly. The material was of poorish quality - the 18 aulnes used costing only 7 florins 6 gros, whereas the 11 aulnes of "drap pres de beaune" purchased that same month to make garments for the ducal pages, cost as much as 49 florins and 8 gros. The low value of the material is easily explained - it served only as a

backcloth for the decoration - namely 1 lb of 'or cliquant' and a half pound of 'filz dorain'.¹⁹⁷ In 1476, no less than 35 pounds of 'or cliquant' adorned the wax figures of "le cappitaine et les quatre pucelles", while 25 thousand "pailletes", or spangles, garnished the costumes of ten morisque dancers at this same banquet for the count and countess of Geneva.¹⁹⁸ The intention was also, in the theatrical fashion, to give the costumes the appearance of being far more costly than they actually were. In 1469, eighteen pieces of cloth were painted to look like cloth of gold.¹⁹⁹

Ostrich feathers and a multitude of bells, either sewn onto the costume itself or worn as anklets and bracelets, were "de rigueur". Fourteen sets of "jambieres de sonnettes" were purchased for the morisque at Alleran Provana's wedding in January 1475, 230 bells, 10 ostrich feathers for the morisque dancers at the banquet in December 1476 for the count of Geneva, though all this could not compare with the 47½ gross of bells, 110 lb "or cliquant", 24000 "dor party" and 25800 "dargent" necessary to adorn the costumes used in 1434.²⁰⁰

The element of disguise was important and the accounts often mention the masks made for the dancers. Lefèvre de St Rémy describes a mommerie of thirty four men and women "vestus de robbes chapperons et chapeaux noirs couverts de clinquant, et sur les chapeaux, grans plumes d'icellui dor et leurs chapperons en formes, et les chevalliers et escuyers, faulx visaiges, et les dames non".²⁰¹ In 1476, four "Moors" featured in a mommerie narrating the story of Goliath, all clothed in black with silver masks.²⁰² At the "mommerie des geans et des nains" at Moncalieri in 1475, those masks enveloped the whole head ("grans testes").²⁰³ "Sauvages" or

wildmen were another popular disguise. A borrowing from folklore, "the sauvage" had particular associations with the carnival period. It was believed that his appearance heralded the arrival of Spring. According to Timothy Husband, the wildmen came to represent the opposite of the highly ordered social structure of the Middle Ages - "sublimated in the wild man were the pre-eminent phobias of medieval society - chaos, insanity and ungodliness".²⁰⁴ Yet the wildman was quickly appropriated and tamed by chivalric society and absorbed into its art, literature and heraldry. A Burgundian tapestry in the church of Notre-Dame de Nantilly depicts an early wildman masquerade, but as early as 1347 the wardrobe accounts of the English court record wildmen masks - "têtes de wodewose".²⁰⁵ The most notorious, and an early French example, is the "Bal des Ardents" of 1393, where Charles VI narrowly escaped being burnt alive after the animal skins he and his companions wore, were set alight.²⁰⁶ The event was graphically illustrated and widely disseminated via a number of chronicles. At the court of Savoy, the wildman makes the earliest appearance as part of the *entremes* in 1434, where four men "en fourme d'hommes saulvaiges" carried the "jardin vert plain de roses" into the hall.²⁰⁷ In 1475, Lancelot de Lans, performed a *morisque* with Marquet le Fol, dressed in an "abilliment de sovage charge dor clicant". A sack of cows' tails were used to "couvrir labit dung sovage" as well as to make the hair of three ogres and nine sirens later that year.²⁰⁸

Like the "sauvage", the fool was another marginal character with a role in the *mommeries*, again particularly associated with carnival time and representing the antithesis of social order -

"il demeure le représentant d'un monde à part qui n'est pas régi par les lois habituelles de la raison et du conformisme social".²⁰⁹

In the mommerie, the fool or folly was often represented by the adoption of his costume, the most salient feature of which was the "coqueluchon". Deriving from and indeed parodying the episcopal mitre, the "coqueluchon" was a hood, generally with bells attached, from which two asses ears protruded. Returning to Saint-Remy's account of the 1434 festivities, we find on the final evening, eighteen knights and squires, apparelled in yellow (the colour symbolic of folly, worn also by prostitutes, Jews and traitors), perform a morisque, bells a-jangling, "et avoient les chapperons grans oreilles comme folz".²¹⁰ An echo of this is found at the entremets of the "Toyson d'Or" held at Geneva, St Valentine's Day 1469, where five morisque dancers each sported the "coqueluchon" as part of their costume.²¹¹ Although there were at least three court fools at this period, Regus, Monsieur de Beauregard and Marquet, only the latter participated in the mommeries and then only rarely and not in his usual parti-coloured clothes. In January 1475 for morisques at the marriage festivities of Alleran Provana, Marquet's costume was particularly bizarre, a red garment decorated with three silver suns, "ung devant, ung dernier et ung sus la teste".²¹² In 1474, Johanin Rivolte, "fait le fol" at the banquet for the Marchioness of Montferrat, yet his costume was the same parti-coloured red and white as his fellow performers which suggests that the "folly" was explicit through his movements rather than his costume.²¹³ The presence of fools, wildmen, giants and sirens, did make for a very comic effect as a certain amount of buffoonery seems to have informed

these entertainments, and clearly nothing was spared in the effort to obtain maximum impact, noise and visual excitement. Yet for all the unbridled chaos unleashed on the audience, there was nothing unsettling or unnerving. Whatever the ingenuities of the special effects, the novelty of the costumes or the extravagance of the entremets, the same familiar medieval motifs were regurgitated. The certainties of the spectator's world, their belief in the natural order, was never seriously threatened and they were reassured of their own sophistication.

Trying to tease a more rounded picture of events proves rather more difficult, if indeed there was any unity or cohesion. Roy Strong has defined medieval entertainments as "rambling and episodic ... unsophisticated".²¹⁴ From a sixteenth or seventeenth century standpoint this is certainly true, though trying to recreate the order of events from the fragmentary household accounts inevitably produces a stilted picture.

Some themes are more easily identifiable than others. St Maurice was an obvious choice as the central character of a banquet held on his saint's day in September 1474, though his connection with two sirens, combing their hair in two towers, is more abstruse.²¹⁵ Similarly so is the "Entremes de la toyson dor" for which a gilded sheep formed the edible centre piece, "toute couverte dor cliquant le collier de bourgognie pourtant au col tout de bature dor fin et les cornes et la teste de la dicte toyson".²¹⁶ The precise import of the collar of the Golden Fleece is unclear, though there may have been a member of the order present, who had come to Geneva to take part in the jousts held there that same month.²¹⁷

The most complex in terms of organisation and presentation were without doubt, the mommeries performed before the Prince of Tarento in 1475.²¹⁸ Preparations began on the 25th January with the leasing of a house close to the castle in Turin to facilitate the production and storage of the necessary artifacts. Lancelot de Lans was, as usual, in charge of proceedings, assisted by a number of kitchen staff, including the three senior "cousiniers", Mermet Brigant, Benoit Mangeon and Le Bossu, the kitchen boys le Pelloux and Tabellet, the carpenters Pierre Ros and Jehanin Cosa and the tailor, maitre Glaude.

Dominating the action was the white and yellow cloth "chasteau damours" with four towers, in each of which sat a maiden (variously described as "pucelles" or "dames"). These maidens were to be carried into the "grant salle" throwing pieces of gold at the guests. Each tower was guarded by a wild animal, a lion, bear, boar or unicorn. A wildman stood sentinel at the castle gate. Two other "sauvages" attacked a mechanical dragon, manipulated by four men, as it emerged from a nearby wood (seven trees made from larch branches brought from Rivoli for the purpose).²¹⁹ Three regal ladies wearing "couronnes demperieure et deux de royne" were meanwhile seated in the "jardin d'amours" in the centre of the castle, a garden which they share with a single tree and a serpent. The castle is held in position by the means of chairs held by eight "chantres" from the ducal chapel. Three ogres sat astride three of the "bestes sauvages" and may have taken part in a morisque with de Lans, Marquet le Fol and Monsieur de Chivron, as each carried a torch, a common element in the

morisques. From each of the four towers flowed hippocras, rose-water and "eaue ardent que feysoit feu" kept alight with camphor. The accounts are quite specific about the costumes worn. The nine sirens (all dummies) who held up the dishes at the banquet, and the four maidens, were all clothed in "chemises" of silk "croveche" - a fine gauze like material - the collars embroidered with gold thread. Each wore a feather of "or cliquant" attached to their forehead. Lancelot and his two companions wore "cornetes", a type of conical hat, made of white taffetz with the device of Yolande and the duke outlined in gold. Attached to their "hauquetons" were "guiches doubles", long strips of material falling from the shoulders to the ground, which again seem to have been a hallmark of such festive costumes. The final touch was eighteen "petits franges d'or" used as beards. Marquet and the three ogres were the only ones to wear masks, the latter's hair, made out of 21 lbs of silver thread.

Again, the centrepiece of the banquet was a "toyson dor ... paint et argentes" this time bearing the gold and azure collar of the Savoyard Order of the Collar. Ten more collars were made by Nicolas Robert, "a mettre es testes des pastes de lyevre", an entremes of redressed hares. There is no surviving evidence to suggest that Frederick was initiated into the order at this time, and indeed, to all intents and purposes, the Collar was moribund at this date. Even as a dynastic device displayed on tapestries, banners and clothes, the love knot and the collar was displaced by the fleur-de-lys and the combination of Amédée and Yolande's initials intertwined. Frederick's father Ferrante of Naples was the founder of his own Order of the Ermine, of which Galeazzo Maria Sforza

was a member. Frederick was later that year to present Charles the Bold with the order on behalf of his father.²²⁰ The presence of the insignia of the Collar tends to add to the impression that this was a "no holds barred" attempt to impress the prince with the prestige of the Savoyard dynasty.

Notwithstanding their assured flamboyance or their mechanical sophistication, these court entertainments display little that is either startlingly innovative or original, their themes and imagery remaining true to northern chivalric tradition. Nor yet was there a noticeable evolution over time from the "divertissements" of 1434. Though Yolande was open to the new learning from the south, employing the humanists, Andrea Rolandi of Vercelli and Nicolo da Tarsi to educate her son, purchasing early printed editions of Cicero, Ovid and Lorenzo Valla, there was no evident intrusion of humanist allegory or motifs in her court entertainment.²²¹ Piedmont-Savoy was in artistic terms an area of cultural fusion, but in Piedmont humanist trends co-existed happily alongside the International Gothic of Jacopo Jaquerio. Yolande's audience too, were an aristocracy who, whatever their humanist leanings, were steeped in the ethos of Arthurian legend, the Roman de la Rose, Le Chevalier Errant.

While entertainment at all levels provided a solace for Yolande as she sought to steer Savoy through the imbroglio of Italian and French politics, the frequency and scale of her court "fetes" suggests a deliberate policy. Though the evidence on each is insufficient for us to determine whether Yolande intended to import more direct political goals, such as has been demonstrated for her neighbour

Burgundy, via the media of court fetes, her overall intent was that they should articulate a vision of Savoyard magnificence. A comparison with the situation of Madame Royale in the seventeenth century is illuminating. Both Yolande and Christina were French princesses, sisters of kings Louis XI and Louis XIII respectively. Each lost her husband while the heir was still a child, and assumed the regency in the face of the violent opposition of her brothers-in-law. In the 1630s, this disaffection brought the intervention of Spain and the invasion of Piedmont. Christina fled to Grenoble where her brother tried to impose a humiliating treaty whereby the young Charles Emmanuel would be raised at the French court. The day was saved by Christina's foremost councillor and Master of Ceremonies, Count Filippo d'Aglie, who immediately initiated a period of fantastic spectacles designed to assert the independence of the duchess and reaffirm the loyalty of her subjects.²²²

Beleaguered on all sides, Yolande retreated south of the Alps where she had a measure of financial and personal support for her policies, a support she was hard pushed to find in Savoy where the aristocracy were only too eager to be bought off by the French or Burgundians. Surrounded by powers, looking for an excuse to intervene in her affairs, the lavishness of Yolande's court fetes was a means of self-exertion and promotion, an expression of the maintenance of power in a period of crisis.

At the same time, the court of Savoy during Yolande's regency, demonstrates the conjunction of three major determinants of the

court fête - the noble obligation to dispense largesse, generosity and entertainment, the political necessity to display power externally and visibly, married with the enthusiasm of the prince. The latter was the most crucial, for it was not enough to possess the attributes of prestige - chapel choir, musicians, talented artists - the prince must learn how to flaunt them.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHIVALRIC ORDERS

The most visible and spectacular means of enhancing one's prestige in the later Middle Ages, was the foundation of an order of chivalry or membership of one. As chivalric ideals grew more, rather than less attractive to the aristocracy in this period, so the prince's appropriation of the knightly virtues of honour and loyalty, central tenets of the new orders, to his own ends, was in no way detrimental to their popularity. With their precise ceremonial, ritual processings, bright heraldic costumes and trappings, they were the ideal mechanism for the transmission of the princely image. An order also served to proclaim his wealth, advertise his power and independence and exalt his role as the embodiment of chivalric virtues. Lofty and idealistic, pragmatic or devotional, there were as many reasons for founding an order as there were founders, and its uses as a weapon in the armoury of inducements to extend one's retinue, consolidate one's position, curb fractious vassals, reward and oblige service or quite simply to confer considerable kudos on one's dynasty, were very quickly appreciated.

Membership, on the other hand, was the ultimate chivalric honour, an affirmation of one's rank in society, bearing the promise of a closer relationship with the prince and the hope of preferment in the future. In a rapidly changing world, belonging to an order laid down concrete co-ordinates whereby a man's worth and status might be known. In the same way as belonging to a lord's retinue and bearing his livery, an order afforded some measure of security, a body of knights, who as

brothers were bound to provide military, moral or financial assistance. The appetite of the nobility for such honours cannot be overstated. The proviso, frequently made in the statutes, that members were not to accept any other order, was inspired by the very real fear that they would succumb only too willingly to such a temptation, which, naturally, had political repercussions.

The chivalric order was a microcosm of the court society which had generated it. It was the perfect adjunct for the arrogant and ebullient courts of the fifteenth century, with their increasing formalisation, stratification and emphasis on all forms of etiquette and ritual - "un spectacle permanent au service de la gloire du prince".¹ Into the court's competitive atmosphere, with its jostling for offices and pensions, the order introduced a new layer of preferment. Of course, not all orders operated on the same level. They could range from comparatively loose organisations to formally structured societies. Each of the three courts under examination produced its own order, as diverse as the varying needs, ambitions and personalities of their founders or the style of their courts. Informed by current rivalries or trends, each illuminates the growth and development of the institution, and demonstrates its inherent flexibility. General histories of chivalric orders have tended to concentrate on a study of the statutes, where such exist, to the detriment of subsequent developments. But in the case of the Porcupine/Camail, Collar or Crescent, a closer consideration of their history in the fifteenth century is crucial for our understanding of its functioning within the court and vis-à-vis its founder or prince.

I

The last decades of the fourteenth century bristle with a diversity of chivalric orders, as varied in their format, as the aims of their founders or members. Among these, the Orléanist Order of the Porcupine has been singled out as typifying a certain breed of order which capitalised on current chivalric ideals for political ends. Vale has alluded to its "tangible political utility" and M. Keen, comparing it with John of Gaunt's SS livery collars, described them both as "signs of clientage with chivalrous overtones ... but essentially emblems of alliance and allegiance".² Historians have also agreed that the Porcupine was a "devise" or livery badge, rather than a "true order". Olivier de la Marche was the first to attempt a classification of the secular orders of chivalry, and in his estimation the Porcupine was unequivocally a "devise", on the basis that it was "without number or statutes".³ More recently, however, Boulton has conceded that it was a "pseudo-order", resembling the full blown "curial orders" of the fifteenth century in many aspects, but not ranking alongside them because the order lacked statutes and did not meet in chapter.⁴

Louis d'Orléans' much documented career as a consummate political manipulator is not in dispute, nor is his skill in using all the inducements at the disposal of the late medieval magnate to build up his affinity. Yet this has tended to obscure other elements of his personality. Christine de Pisan described him as "the refuge and retreat of French chivalry" and noted how the young knights at court gravitated around him.⁵ Louis was not a great initiator, but he had his finger on the pulse and was open to current trends. It would have been unusual, then, had he not

initiated his own dynastic order, and there were a number of models near to home from which he drew inspiration.

According to his biographer Cabaret d'Oronville, Louis II de Bourbon founded the order of the "Escu d'Or" some time around the year 1367. Its motto "Espérance" was embroidered on a belt, surely inspired by the English Garter - Bourbon had spent seven years in England as a hostage after Poitiers, and the order was instituted on his return. After 1370 the order became known as the "Ordre de l'Espérance". In 1379 the Constable Bertrand du Guesclin received from the duke "a beautiful golden belt ... of his order of Espérance, which was put round his neck".⁶ Although Cabaret has Bourbon deliver a lengthy speech on the duties of its member, no statutes would appear to have been set down in writing. Louis may himself have been a member of this "pseudo-order". A mural in the cloister of the Carmelite monastery at Toulouse depicts Charles VI presenting the "ceinture Espérance" to a number of knights, among whom Louis, Pierre de Navarre, Henri de Bar, Olivier de Clisson and Enguerrand de Coucy have been identified.⁷

Coucy, chamberlain and confidant of Louis, was in turn founder of his own "Order of the Crown". This shadowy order was celebrated in a poem by Eustache Deschamps, who listed the twelve chivalric virtues - faith, moderation, love of God, prudence, truth, honour, strength, virtue, mercy, charity, loyalty and largesse - symbolised by the twelve points of the crown. Coucy had also spent a number of years in England, and had married Edward III's daughter Isabella. As the newly created Earl of Bedford, he had been accepted into the Order of the Garter. One of the rare documents making mention of the Crown, suggests that Coucy may have drawn on two

of the features of the Garter namely its religious college and admission of women. Seven years after his death in 1397, Louis d'Orleans ratified Coucy's letters of foundation of a convent of Celestines at Villeneuve near Soissons, for the saying of perpetual prayers "for all the knights and ladies, squires and damsels of our order of the Crown".⁸

Louis's brother Charles VI had inherited the badge of the broom plant ("geneste") with its broom pods, from his father Charles V. By the 1380s it had become fashionable for men to wear heavy necklaces or collars of gold or silver, incorporating a livery badge. Charles began distributing collars, composed of pairs of broom pods, to members of his retinue as well as to foreign kings and princes. A number of these were bestowed on gentlewomen of the court of Richard II, when the two kings met at Ardres to discuss Isabel of France's marriage to the English king. The English scribe who reported on this meeting at length, and who was presumably familiar both with the English magnatial livery badges and his monarch's royal order, described the collars as being of Charles' "liverée de broincoddes". By the end of the century, however, in the French royal accounts and the three surviving letters conferring the collar, it is consistently referred to as "the collar of our Order of the Broom-pod". In May 1398 Charles distributed a number of these - to his cousin Jean, c^{te} de Nevers newly returned "from his travels in Turkey", to four members of the Milanese embassy and to the two sisters of the "comte de Brayne" (sic). The Broompod was not socially exclusive, nor was there any limit on its membership - well over two hundred were admitted until its demise with Charles VI's own death in 1422.⁹

An element of sibling rivalry in Louis' own development of an order built around his personal badge, should not be overlooked. Louis' relationship with his brother has been described as "problematic".¹⁰ Despite their constant companionship, or indeed as a result of this, Louis may have felt it imperative to stamp his own personality at court.

It was very much the vogue of Louis' contemporaries to adopt badges which were personal to themselves and their adherents. Embroidered on gloves, shoes and other items of clothing, worn as badges on hats and as belt buckles, woven into tapestries, printed onto shields and incorporated into the marginalia of illuminated manuscripts, the "devise" was the true marriage of heraldic symbolism with the late medieval nobility's love of display. The "devise" itself was made up of two components - a badge, representing an animal, plant or object, combined with a motto - of amorous, chivalric, religious or personal signification. Many reflect the medieval mind's love of play on words and images - like Richard II's white hart with its rebus "rich hart". The fashion reached its apogee in the mid-fifteenth century with René d'Anjou's sophisticated and esoteric "devises" - for example, the bow with the broken string adapted after the death of his first wife. Their importance has often been undervalued or trivialised. It is only recently, for instance, that the full purport of Charles VI's adoption of the "cerf volant" with its blend of christian, chivalric and regal symbolism "destined to convey the force and efficiency of royalty in the face of uncertainty", has been fully appreciated.¹¹

Louis used a number of "devises" in his lifetime - the tiger,

the wolf with the motto "il est loup-il l'est" playing on his name, the nettle and the knotty club. The porcupine first makes its appearance in 1394 in a list of items furnished by the ducal goldsmith Hance Karast; firstly, engraved alongside a wolf on a gold signet, and again paired with the wolf on the pommel of a knife.¹² Tradition has it that the Order of the Porcupine was founded to celebrate the baptism of Louis' son Charles in November 1394. The later Orléans herald, Henrotin de Cleriaux, described in his chronicle how the "new Order of Knighthood very excellent and of great renowne" had been founded on that day "for the high hope whiche he (Louis) had of his Borne Sonne".¹³ Aside from bearing witness to the eagerness of chroniclers and later historians to attach such foundations to important family, or other, celebrations, there is little concrete evidence to substantiate this widely held view. Neither the Religieux de Saint Denis nor Juvenal des Ursins, while alluding to the baptism, make any mention of the distribution of an order or livery badge.¹⁴ The misconception probably arose from Charles' eventual succession as duke of Orléans and continuator of the order of the Porcupine, overlooking the fact that in 1394, Charles was not the first born or even sole surviving son.¹⁵ Favyn's assertion that the order was composed of 25 knights who wore long violet robes does not inspire much confidence.¹⁶ It is unlikely that Louis set the order on such a firm footing at this date and this is an impression corroborated by the surviving documentary evidence.

Although there is the happy coincidence of the porcupine's first appearance as a "devise" only a few months prior to the supposed date of the order's foundation, the porcupine failed initially to make significant inroads into the popularity with Louis of the wolf or

the crossbow. As early as October 1390, Louis purchased a large amount of material in the ducal colours "pour faire une livree ou estait la devise des loups".¹⁷ The wolf was often displayed in association with Charles VI's broompods ("cosses de genestes"). The lavish preparations for the trip in Lombardy in 1392 involved the requisitioning of a tent striped in Louis' colours and embroidered with "broom flowers, leaves and pods" and wolves.¹⁸ In tune with the bright heraldic fashion of the time, Louis did not fear overloading the spectator with symbols. The livery robes he distributed in October 1393 bore the interlaced colours of the duke, with the wolf and crossbow motif on the left sleeve.¹⁹ In June 1396 his tailor made a short houppelande for the duke bearing a broad stripe of wolves "rampant" on the front and back with a crossbow picked out in pearls on the left sleeve.²⁰

Though references to the porcupine did increase towards the end of the century, it was one motif which never seems to have been used on the bi-annual liveries (nor on other gifts of clothing, with the same persistence and frequency as the wolf and especially so after 1398 when Louis first distributed collars with the pendant porcupine). As a decorative device it appeared, however, on a great diversity of objects. In 1399 porcupine quills were embroidered on a portable canopy,²¹ in 1396 Valentine Visconti presented her husband with a gold salt cellar in the shape of a porcupine as a New Year's gift,²² porcupines were painted on a jousting shield in 1400²³ and were incorporated into the stained glass windows of Louis' mansion in the rue de la Poterne, Paris.²⁴

Louis' distributions of the collar of the Porcupine cluster around three particular years - 1398, 1400 and 1405. Although there is little

or no evidence to suggest that he wished to restrict membership to 25 knights, the fact that only around 30 knights and squires ever received the collar in this period, would imply that the Porcupine was intended to be a more select fraternity than that of his brother's. The occasion of the first distribution was the embassy Louis was to head to Pope Benedict XIII in Avignon. Although Louis himself spent lavishly on preparations, the embassy never took place as the pope decided to send ambassadors to the French court. Early in December, Hance Karast made 3 gold and 1 silver collars "made in the fashion of chain mail, enamelled all around in his [Louis'] six colours, with a pendant gold porcupine".²⁵ The three gold collars were destined for Louis, Jean c^{te} de Nevers and Charles d'Albret, the silver for Jean de Bourbon. The former were considerably more luxurious than the latter, costing 454 francs in all whilst Jean de Bourbon's only cost just over 45 francs. This, the first documented description of the collar, is corroborated by its only contemporary representation. The frontispiece to one of the surviving manuscripts of Christine de Pisan's Epistre Othea, dating c.1406-1408, depicts Louis seated in the midst of his courtiers who look on as he receives the Epistre from the hands of the author. Louis and two of the courtiers, wear collars made of links of chain mail in the shape of a star from which the hanging gold porcupines can easily be seen.²⁶

The diplomatic importance of this mission to Avignon, may be calculated by the calibre of the men who were to accompany Louis. In addition to Nevers, Albret and Bourbon were the Abbé de Charlin, Guillaume Fillastre, dean of Rheims, Pierre Beaublé and Nicole le Dur, both councillors of Louis, and Gilles des Champs, councillor of

Louis and Charles VI, who had already had experience in previous embassies to Benedict. In order that the retinue should be adequately turned out, Louis gave each a sum of money over and above their wages, as a clothing allowance. Albret and Nevers appear at the top of the list, each receiving 2000 francs d'or, 1000 for clothing and 1000 as wages. Jean de Bourbon, a reflection of his status, received only 100 francs for clothing.²⁷ The superior position of Albret and Nevers was further emphasized by the gift of clothing. Identical short robes or "jaques" were made in black figured velvet for Louis and Nevers and Albret to wear "avec luy Duc au voyage qu'il entend faire presentement vers les parties d'Avignon". Albret, in addition, received a long black houppelande in figured satin to match the duke's.²⁸ It was fairly common at the end of the fourteenth century for princes to demonstrate their favour with gifts of outfits identical to their own. The potent visual signal transmitted varied according to the status of the recipient - symbolising ties of friendship, blood relationship or clientage. The duplicate dressing of the king and his brother on May days or religious feasts was perceived rather differently than the situation Froissart described between Louis, young duke of Touraine and his chamberlain Pierre de Craon. Froissart noted that Louis "looked on him as his companion and dressed him the same as himself, taking him everywhere he went and sharing all his secrets".²⁹ This latter client/courtier-protector relationship provoked enormous jealousy and envy.

All three of the recipients of 1398 were of an age with Louis and spent considerable time in his company. Jean de Nevers, his cousin, was 26 years old and had only returned from his captivity

in Turkey at the beginning of the year. Albret, was also a cousin, great intimate of Louis, later Constable of France and named as one of Louis' executors in his 1403 testament.

Both Albret and Bourbon ranked alongside Louis' royal uncles and his brother as the frequent recipient of gifts of rich clothing, jewellery and plate. Only the previous August they had been given green houppelandes each bearing a "porcepic de brodure" on the sleeve.³⁰ Nevers and Albret number among the duke's drinking companions in Eustache Deschamps' poem describing the carousing at the "Chastel de Boissy".³¹ The three would have been expected to bear their collars conspicuously during their mission to Avignon to indicate their honoured position within the embassy and their relationship with the duke, but the collars in no sense denoted their membership of a formalised order or, for that matter, their status as Louis' ally or client.

The same primarily honorific functions probably motivated the distribution of the collar some two years later. Twenty-five collars were made by Karast and given out by Louis in July and August 1400, costing over 1776 francs.³² Apart from four un-named Breton and Bohemian knights and two gold collars for knights whose names Louis did not wish to be recorded in the accounts - ("et n'en voulons autre declaration cy estre faite") - the remaining knights and squires were all attached to the Orleans household in one capacity or another. Eight were his chamberlains - Jean de Miraumont and Jehan de Roussay since as early as 1389 when Louis' household first split off from that of his brother's, Guillaume de Colleville and Gadifer de la Sale since 1394. Others,

like the Fleming Pierre de Haveskercke, lord of Rasse, had only recently been drawn into the Orléanist camp. This same pattern is reflected among the squires of the household given the Porcupine - a mixture of servants of old standing like Enguerrand de Marconnay, with the duke since 1389, and more recent additions like Clignet de Brebant, since 1398. All may be considered as belonging to Louis' select coterie. Christine de Pisan includes many of them - Brebant, Cadillac, Jehan de Contes, La Sale, Marconnay, Mesnil, the Renty's, de Tillières and Ligniers - among the intimates gathered around Louis in "Le Dit de la Rose".³³ The career of several had been greatly advanced by their friendship with the duke. Guillaume le Bouteiller, much trusted by Louis, was his chamberlain and councillor, councillor also of Charles VI, seneschal of Limousin (1390-5 and 1398-1418), seneschal of Angoulême (1394-1407) and a staunch Orléanist member of the royal council (1406-7).³⁴ Pierre dit Clignet de Brébant owed his meteoric rise to Louis. The Religieux described him as of humble birth, but he quickly rose from simple squire to admiral of France in 1405. According to Monstrelet the 15,000 écus necessary to buy the position from Renaud de Trie, was provided by his generous benefactor who was also instrumental in arranging his marriage to the widow of Louis count of Blois.³⁵

The precise reasons for this distribution remains obscure. If the bestowal was honorific, a token of ducal approbation pure and simple, several obvious contenders are obviously lacking. Philippe de Florigny, Jehan de Garencières, Guillaume de Braquemont, among others, were as long serving and faithful companions as any of the above. The haphazard survival of documentation cannot fully account

for their absence. The letter warranting the payment of 1476 francs 19s 3dt, for 24 collars, to Karast, is dated 2 September 1400 from Brie-Comte-Robert. Six of the collars were distributed on 14 and 24 July, the remainder on 22 and 29 August. The reason for Louis' presence in Brie-Comte-Robert was his "ecuyer de corps", Ogier de Nantoillet's combat with an English knight. The gold collar destined for Guillaume le Bouteiller was significantly larger and more costly than the rest, as it had originally been made for Louis "pour mettre le jour que Ogier de Nantoillet ... a fait ses armes contre un chevalier d'angleterre". It would be natural for Louis to wish to present himself and his retinue as spectacularly as possible on such an occasion. The usurpation of Richard II in England initiated a deterioration of relations between France and England. Louis seems to have been particularly aggrieved by the fate of his niece Isabelle, sent home ignominiously, and in 1402 and 1403 he on two occasions challenged his former ally, Henry IV, to a duel.³⁶ The years of partial truce saw many such combats between French and English knights not least by officers of Louis d'Orléans.³⁷ In May 1400 Louis gave his squire, Hector de Pontbriant, 300 francs to cover his expenses travelling to England to challenge an English knight.³⁸ At such a gathering, where notables and heralds from both countries were present, Louis' status as a great magnate was underlined by the presence of his retinue bearing his Porcupine.

Rivalry with that other monolithic dynasty, the dukes of Burgundy, has most often been considered the mainspring for Louis' creation of the order of the Porcupine. Apart from the two collars he gave to

his sons Charles and Philippe in January 1401,³⁹ only two other collars were distributed by him before his assassination in 1407. As these occurred in February and March 1405, when tensions between the two camps were reaching crisis point, it is not surprising that they have been dubbed political. Contemporary chroniclers had noticed the build up of hostilities between uncle, Philip the Bold, and nephew, Louis, as early as 1398. Juvénal des Ursins attributed the "great hatred, envy and division" between the two, to their struggle to "gain control of the government of the kingdom and likewise its finances".⁴⁰ The rivalry escalated after Philip's death. The legacy of friction resulting from Louis' Italian schemes, their differences over the Great Schism, Louis' commercial policies in his own territories which harmed Flemish trade, was readily taken on board by his cousin and erstwhile companion, John the Fearless.

This rivalry found expression in their adoption of devices, whose precise symbolism was not lost on their audience. If Louis took the offensive with the knotty club and its motto "Je l'envie", meaning "I challenge", John the Fearless retaliated with "Ic houd", or "I accept", paired with the joiner's plane, signifying that as the plane "flattens down all things, so could he (the duke of Burgundy) overthrow all pride and arrogance". The porcupine, too, threatened Burgundy with its quills which it shot out, according to the motto "cominus et eminus" (near and far). On a number of occasions the exchange of devices between the two dukes was used to symbolise their renewed friendship after a period of high tension or even open violence. Diaz de Gamez in "El Vitorial" describes one such reconciliation, possibly that manoeuvred in 1407

by the duke of Berry, where the three dukes "and all the other knights ate together" at the Hotel de Nesle and "the dukes gave each other their devices". In June 1406 the two dukes made a grandiose show of friendship for the weddings of a son of Charles VI to John the Fearless' grand-daughter and Charles d'Orléans to Isabelle, widow of Richard II. On the second day John wore a black surcoat embroidered with the Orléanist club.⁴¹

Louis' efforts to build up a network of allies in the north-east of France - Lorraine, Luxembourg - and then in Germany, caused concern to his contemporaries, and have attracted the attention of historians ever since.⁴² Many of the contracts made with nobles in Germany and the Low Countries have survived, most creating fiefs rentes for the term of a single life, others in return for a lump sum. Only two of these show Louis bestowing the order on those with whom he was also creating the relationship of vassal or ally.

Jean de la Baume and Henry de Rothemberc's membership of the Porcupine was a concomitant of their becoming Louis' chamberlains. Their letters of acceptance are the first time the word "order" was used with reference to the Porcupine. La Baume's acceptance of the position with its pension of 100 francs a month explains "we have become his chamberlain and have taken from him the collar of his order".⁴³ La Baume's office of chamberlain did not automatically imply his constant presence or service at the duke's side. Whilst it is true that chamberlains normally shared their duties in rotation, on many occasions the office was purely honorific, demanding no more than the recipient's loyalty. In 1403, 51 highranking lords may be

identified as Louis' chamberlains. A number of these were also chamberlains to Charles VI.⁴⁴ When Pero Ninõ, the "unconquered" Spanish knight, threatened to create a fuss when money was not forthcoming from the French, as had been agreed, Louis took him aside and pressed him to drop the matter, promising him financial aid. The duke presented him with his "liveries" which may or may not have been the Porcupine, and "according to the French usage, gave him the office of a chamberlain in his household".⁴⁵

La Baume and Rothemberc, although important men in their own right, were not the most crucial of allies for Louis. Doubtless these were political distributions but in his attempt to build up his affinity Louis relied almost exclusively on the vast array of inducements available to a prince of his status and wealth with access to financial resources and offices. If a man's loyalty could be sealed with bestowal of his order, so much the better, but in the years before his death Louis clearly preferred to rely on pensions, gifts, offices, contracts of alliance and money fees. In 1402, Bernard, marquis of Bade gave liege homage to Louis for a pension of 2000 livres tournois which he was still receiving in 1405, and when Louis made an alliance with his uncle the duke of Berry in December 1405 it was noted by the Burgundian John Chousat that they "were allied and leagued together by oath and pledge and have been exchanging gifts of expensive jewellery with each other".⁴⁶

The order of the Porcupine did not spring fully formed from Louis d'Orléans head in 1394 rather, it grew in a haphazard, desultory fashion. It was a livery badge of a very select nature and it is clear from the inconsistent manner of its distributions in 1398, 1400 and 1405 to first equals and companions, then to members of

his household and finally to two "foreign" nobles, that Louis had no grand design behind its bestowal. In the climate of the early fifteenth century, the secular order of chivalry in France had not sufficiently tested its mettle in the political arena for Louis to trust its potential use. It was his less able son who finally attempted this.

Charles d'Orléans was a child of eleven when his father's assassination thrust him from the seclusion of Blois and Chateauthierry onto the political stage. The subsequent history of the Porcupine reflects the vagaries of his career, falling into three main stages. Firstly the brief period of peace before Agincourt in 1415, secondly the years 1435 to 1440 when Charles' hope of release from English captivity were raised and eventually realised and finally from 1441 to his death and his reintegration into the French scene.

Between the years 1405 and 1414 there are no documented distributions of the collar of the Porcupine. As a personal device, too, it was largely displaced by the "ortie", or nettle, paired with the motto "le droit chemin", a reference to the justice of the Orléanist cause. The propagandist function of this device was strikingly demonstrated on Charles' entry into Paris after the Cabochien revolt and the Peace of Pontoise when he and all his retinue bore it on their robes.⁴⁷

Charles' own collar of the Porcupine was sacrificed to the exigencies of his military policies, and like the majority of the vast reserves of wealth in gold and silver plate and jewels accumulated by his father, was sold off to buy allies and support

his armies.⁴⁸ Lavish gifts were used to woo the duke of Brittany to the Armagnac side in 1410. In April Charles presented him with a jewel encrusted Book of Hours and some six months later nearly 3000 livres were handed out to 20 of Brittany's councillors. These were trifling sums in comparison to the duke of Burgundy's tempting offer of 20,000 ecus to Brittany to get him to abandon his flirtation with the Armagnacs.⁴⁹ The desperate years of civil war were fruitful for the exchange of money and loyalties, but it was only once peace had been restored that Charles resurrected his father's order.

The reversal of Charles' fortunes following his reconciliation with his uncles Charles VI and John, duke of Burgundy, was immediate. In Paris, in the company of his young cousin the dauphin, he assumed a lifestyle redolent of his father's. For the first time since Louis' death, Charles had the leisure, if not the finances, to behave as a royal prince. The dark mourning he had insisted on wearing for the duration of the war, was replaced by rich velvets and cloth of gold and silver. Although the Porcupine was not bestowed before 1414, it had clearly never been entirely forgotten either. In 1412 a new *poursuivant* called "Camail" appears for the first time in the ducal household.⁵⁰ Henceforth, Charles was to prefer the name Camail (a reference to the chain mail armour type style of the collar) to the Porcupine, although in 1436 a *poursuivant* "Porc-épic" was given the office of *Maitre de la Maladerie* at Bouciennes in Valois.⁵¹

Between April 1414 and August 1415, Charles distributed 18 collars, 15 of these in the year 1415 alone.⁵² The majority, 16 of the 18, were attached to his household. Four had also

connections with the royal household - Bertrand du Puy as queen's valet, Merot de la Roque and Olivier du Liet as squires in the king's household and Guillaume de Champgirault squire to Catherine of France. Jean de Charny was a squire in the household of Jean de Berry. Among the officers of Charles' household it is the squirearchy which predominates rather than the upper echelons. A number had served with Louis d'Orléans, more notable for their long service than their spectacular careers. Hutin d'Arson served Louis as "pannetier" (pantler) as early as 1398. By 1403 he was "ecuyer tranchant", a position he still held in 1415. Jehan le Margeriel dit "Bobin" first appears in the household accounts as a squire of the stables in 1401 and is so styled 14 years later. Bobin, and another recipient of the collar, Pierre du Saillant, both appear in the "Ordonnance" of 1409, drawn up to regulate the rotation of Charles' servants.⁵³ The greater financial security of the years 1414 and 1415 allowed Charles to set his establishment on a firmer footing, hence a number of new recruits to his household. As an inducement to their continuing loyalty, several of them appear in the ranks of the recipients of the Porcupine - for example, Louis Cochet his cutting squire, and Henriët Porcel and Jean de Montmirail his cupbearers. This limited distribution to men in Charles' immediate entourage suggests an honorific rather than a political function. It is tempting to speculate on the precise nature of the "good and agreeable services" Olivier du Liet, squire of the king's stable, performed for Charles which "we hope will continue in future".⁵⁴ Yet men of any distinction or political clout with the king are noticeably lacking among this group. Even the more distinguished members

of Charles' retinue are conspicuous by their absence. Neither Huet d'Amboise, sg'de Chaumont and "premier chambellan" to the duke nor his fellow signatory of the Declaration of Saint Ouen in 1411, Raoul de Gaucourt, who both stayed on in the service of Louis' family, are documented as having received the collar. Their rewards were, perhaps, more financially remunerative. Honours were as eagerly sought after by the nobility as wealth and for Charles, the collars, averaging at approximately 30 livres tournois each, were a comparatively cheap way of rewarding loyalty.

Charles played on this thirst for honours twenty years later as a prelude to his reappearance on the French scene. The impetus to this renewed interest in the order of the Porcupine, or Camail as it was now known, was the conclusion of the Treaty of Arras. Charles had high hopes of a speedy resolution of his terms of imprisonment. In France, his brother Dunois set in motion discussions involving both Philip the Good of Burgundy and Amédée VIII of Savoy. The years 1435 to 1440 saw Charles distribute his collar on an unprecedented scale, fully justifying the description of a livery badge rather than a select order. The privilege of wearing the collar was granted to 242 knights and squires between 1435 and 1439, peaking in 1438 with 92, and in 1439 with 73. In July 1439 during the conference at Calais, 46 collars were distributed. Charles' intentions are pretty transparent. Deeply in debt, he was dependent on the benefaction of the queen, the dauphin, the dukes of Brittany and Bourbon among others, for the sums required to pay off the 240,000 écus demanded by the English. A policy borne out of desperation and deep financial distress, Charles concentrated on winning the loyalty and affections of the servants of his

creditors. The men he chose to honour in this way fall into three main groups. Firstly, there were the sons or relations of former servants whom Charles both wished to reward for past loyalties and also rekindle support for his return.⁵⁵ Charles de Mornay, seigneur de Villiers, who was granted his collar in April 1436, was the son of Bouchart de Mornay cupbearer for Louis in 1403 and subsequently Charles' chamberlain, serving him in his military capacity as keeper of the castle of Blois. Pierre de Mornay, Charles' uncle, had himself been given the Porcupine in 1400. There were similar case histories with the representatives of the de Fontaines, de Laire or de Rochechouart families. The second grouping were officers of the royal or other noble households. Particularly noticeable among these were the Bretons. Eustache de la Houssaye, a recipient in 1437, appears among the list of the duke of Brittany's officers who received gifts of money from Charles in 1410. Eleven of the duke's officers were given the Camail by letters of 11 November 1440 including Silvestre de Carne his chamberlain and master of the household, and Yves de Lanneon his vice-admiral. Their master had generously provided 20,000 saluts d'or towards the ransom payments. Charles' bestowal of the order on the Bretons on the very day of his arrival at Gravelines where he met the prime mover of his liberation, Isabella of Burgundy, must be understood as an indication of his gratitude. A third and larger group was composed of those Charles hoped to attract to his personal service. It was widely believed, no less so than by Charles himself, that his return to France would mark also his return to the forefront of the political stage. This restoration could mean rich pickings for those in his entourage. The

months following his arrival in France witnessed an undignified rush of wellwishers and hangers on -

"... and even from the lands of the aforesaid duke of Burgundy, they came in large numbers ... Several knights and squires presented him with easily 8 or 10 of their children to be his pages. ... The number of his servants multiplied so much, that by the time he came to Tournay, he had as many as 300 horses in his retinue".

Monstrelet, if given at times to exaggeration, captured fairly accurately the gist of Charles' policy as regards the collar of the Camail.

"As for his order, this was bestowed by him on a great number of knights and squires and others of modest status. Among those who requested they be given it, he denied scarcely a one; and at that time it was fairly widespread in Picardy. And so there were many who desired to serve him and be his men ... they held that once with the king, he would have great authority in the kingdom of France, whereby they would be greatly advanced".⁵⁶

If Charles was only too eager to distribute the collar, not all accepted it without reservation. Two are known to have refused it. Siebon du Bos and Antoine de Sarrement returned their letters in 1437, claiming that they were not worthy to receive the order.⁵⁷ Whatever the rationale behind their refusal, it would be cynical to suggest that the great number of collars distributed had diminished the honour of its bestowal.

The majority of the new "members" in this period of Charles' expansiveness do not reappear as members of his retinue, nor as recipients of subsequent gifts. Men of modest lineage, they elude precise identification. Their press for preferment, matched only by Charles' own eagerness to stock up a bank of goodwill for his return, was, in the end, disappointed. Charles was never able to follow up with the rewards the recipients had

anticipated. Both financially and politically, he was never in a position with his cousin, the king, to capitalise on this relationship as his father had done. By August 1441, burdened with the "payment of our ransom as also the expenses of our household", Charles directed his treasurer to suspend all payments of pensions and wages from his revenues for the coming year.⁵⁸

Charles' distributions of 1435 to 1440 reveal his attachment to outmoded practices of his pre-Agincourt years. The Camail has at this period been dubbed, with justification, a livery badge. By the mid-fifteenth century, however, the livery badge, as a means of attracting an extra-curial clientele, was an anachronism in a France where the great magnates had turned their attention to smaller more exclusive honours. The oath, too, made by the new members of the Camail on their reception into the order, was an innovation of Charles' which looks back as much to the contractual oaths made with allies and vassals pre-1415, as it resembles the formal oath taken by members of the more structured chivalric orders. No text of this oath has survived, though clearly it was an attempt by Charles to bind support to him more securely.

In the years after 1440, Charles' perception of his order altered as a result of his close contact with his cousin, Philip duke of Burgundy. Philip introduced Charles to a grander style of chivalric order and was ready to use it to symbolise the renewed friendship between the two princes. At the reception given by Philip to celebrate Charles' marriage to Marie de Clèves at Saint-Omer, a nymph led a porcupine into the banquetting

hall by one hand and a swan, the emblem of the house of Clèves, bearing the collar of the Golden Fleece, with the other.⁵⁹

Philip also, unlike the later panegyrist of the Burgundian dynasty, Olivier de la Marche, treated the Camail as an order on a par with the Golden Fleece. The statutes of the Golden Fleece were qualified at the 1440 chapter to allow the two princes to exchange their orders:

"... the duke of Burgundy, who had one of the collars at the ready, presented it and placed it around the neck of the duke of Orléans ... and then kissed him. Thereupon, the duke of Orléans asked of the duke of Burgundy that he please him by wearing his order. On his agreement the said duke of Orléans took one of the collars of his order from his sleeve and placed it about the neck of the said duke of Burgundy".⁶⁰

Charles attended the assembly of the Burgundian order on at least one further occasion, at Ghent in December 1445. While he made no attempt to set his order on a formal footing by imitating the Golden Fleece with statutes and an annual assembly, its influence may be detected in the sudden restriction of its membership after 1441 and its bestowal predominantly on members of his household. Between the years 1441 and 1459 only some 30 collars were distributed, with twenty of those falling in the years 1441 and 1444. The dwindling numbers may be partly ascribed to the disappointment of his hopes of playing a role in French affairs as also his lack of interest in the order per se. Unlike his father, Louis, or his Burgundian cousin, Charles was a decidedly "unchivalric" prince in his disinterest in all that pertained to chivalric display. On his visit to his Italian territories in 1447, he left his subjects singularly unimpressed by the meanness of his retinue, although this did

include the novelty of a live porcupine.⁶¹ Surviving letters patent bestowing the Camail, show, however, that lipservice at least, was paid to the orthodox tenets of the chivalric order. Bertrand de Lasterie and his sons were granted permission to bear the collar because of "the good report which has been made to us of [their] nobility and valliance". In 1441, Louis Chabot was permitted to wear it "wherever it pleases him" as a reward for his "service, loyalty, nobility, valliance and courage and good personal habits".⁶²

The cultivation of an order such as the Golden Fleece with pretensions as an exclusive international elite, held no particular appeal for Charles. Singularly unaristocratic in his tastes, he preferred the company of men of bourgeois origins who could share his literary interests. Benoist Damien,⁶³ Hugues le Voys⁶⁴ and Jehan Doulcet,⁶⁵ crossed swords in verse rather than in the tournament lists. The men honoured with the Camail in Charles' latter years are an unspectacular group whom he wished to reward for unspecified services on his behalf. A notable exception was the duke of Brittany whose inclusion in 1441 was probably inspired by his election into the Golden Fleece at the same time as Charles. Mostly Charles preferred to honour his retainers, his Chamberlains Pierre de Lusignan Saint Gelais, Jean de Rossignac and Georges de Brilhac, his master of the household Philippe de Hedonville or Pierre Chauvet his squire of the stable. A sprinkling of royal servants such as Antoine du Roux and Louis du Puy, sg^r de Couldray Monin or Jean Guy, chamberlain to Charles' brother the count of Angoulême confirm the impression that the Camail was an arbitrary award rather than a

clearly thought out policy.⁶⁶ The political potential of an order to be learnt from Philip of Burgundy's astute use of the Golden Fleece was not assimilated by his less able cousin. The Camail fell into desuetude in the years leading up to Charles' death, until finally it was suppressed by his son Louis on his accession to the throne as Louis XII.

Apart from in general terms of encouraging loyalty or adherence to their policy, or of acquiring prestige, the dukes of Orléans had no consistent underlying motive for their order. Chameleon like, it changed its purpose to suit the exigencies of a particular situation. The absence of statutes which would have defined its aims, was the consequence of Louis having drawn his inspiration from the contemporary French orders of his peers, rather than the more formal English Garter. While this encouraged incoherency, it also allowed the dukes greater flexibility. If at times it functioned as a livery badge, at other times it resembled a far more selective grouping. Inchoate and nebulous, the Porcupine was forgotten or resurrected at the whim of the dukes. When political considerations were at the forefront, Louis disregarded his order in favour of hard cash. His more impecunious son found it a relatively cheap method of attracting loyalty and creating an affinity. Successful or not, for many of his contemporaries the Camail ranked alongside the major orders of chivalry. Dubois, indeed, did it the singular honour of claiming that Jacques de Challant was a member, an indication of his desire to exalt his master, and a tribute

to the prestige of the Camail.⁶⁷

II

The Savoyard Order of the Collar ranks alongside the English Garter as one of the earliest secular orders of chivalry and one of the longest lasting. It has been well served by historians of the Savoyard dynasty, yet, in the absence of the original statutes, attention has focussed almost entirely on the problematic chronology of its foundation to the virtual exclusion of its development under the later counts and then dukes of Savoy.⁶⁸ Unlike the Porcupine or the Crescent, the Collar has attracted little notice in general studies of chivalric orders; only the most recent reinstates it amongst "the grandest and most substantial and most permanent" of the "curial orders".⁶⁹

Like Louis d'Orléans, Amédée VI was possessed of impeccable chivalric credentials. A veteran of numerous military campaigns, his prowess tested on the battlefield and in the tournament lists, his international reputation was further enhanced by his crusading enthusiasm. Uniquely too, he was the founder of two orders of chivalry, the first, the Order or Company of the Black Swan in 1350 on the occasion of his sister's marriage to Galeazzo Visconti, which was intended to mark a new era in the relationship between the two magnates. The statutes of this surprisingly early fraternal order have survived and the predominantly military slant of the obligations imposed on its members, betrays the young count's concern to harness the support of the Visconti

and the count of the Genevois, among others, for his forthcoming struggle with the French in the Dauphiné.⁷⁰

Some ten years later, with the Black Swan presumably having outlived its usefulness the Collar was founded at Avignon. None of the original statutes have survived, the earliest dating from 1409.⁷¹ Our knowledge of the event is derived almost entirely from the description given by Cabaret d'Oronville in the "Chroniques de Savoye", compiled between 1417 and 1420 and the version of his description amplified by the even later Jehan Servion in his "Geste et Chroniques".⁷² Cabaret placed the event just prior to the Savoyard campaign against the Marquis of Saluces. Amédée impressed by the sight of his assembled army decided to create an order of 15 knights. According to Servion, but not to Cabaret, a number of "ordonnances et chapitrez" were drawn up regulating the activities of its members. Each knight was to be "sans reproche" and was never to abandon his fellow knights "ne par vie ne par mort", but should strive to advance the honour of his fellows. An evil action would result in the miscreant's immediate expulsion from the order while disagreements were to be resolved by at least four of the "compagnons". In addition there were "beaucoupz daultres bons et nottables" statutes relating to the support of orphans and widows, the opposition of false quarrels and the upholding of loyalty. Cabaret notes that Amédée elected 14 knights with himself as the 15th, Servion elaborates - "... et sy prengs le collier le prumier, non pas comme signieur mais comme frere et compaignon de ceulx qui en seront, car cest ordre de freres...".

Servion's account is decidedly spurious, but Cabaret's text also poses a number of problems. Writing some 60 years after the

event he purports to describe, he allowed himself a free hand in his narrative, embellishing upon what little concrete information he was able to discover. His account of the foundation of the "Escu d'Or" in his "Chronique du Bon Duc Loys de Bourbon" is similarly untrustworthy.⁷³

The first anachronism is Cabaret's description of the order's collar - "ung colier .. ou avoit escript par dessus en lettres dor, fert, fert, fert, et a lanel du colier estoient neufz lasses ensemble lung asses pres de lautre". The collar is first mentioned in the household accounts dating from the period of Amédée VI's visit to Avignon in January 1364.⁷⁴ This entry, recording the purchase of 15 "colariis argenti deaurati factis ad devisam Domini", convinced Muratore that the order's foundation occurred during Amédée's visit to Urban V when the latter presented him with the Golden Rose in recognition of his services to Christianity, rather than in 1363 as Cabaret's chronicle suggests. The earliest pictorial representation of the collar survives in a charter of foundation by the Green Court for a perpetual mass in honour of the Virgin at Lausanne cathedral, January 1382.⁷⁵ This shows three intertwined love knots hanging from a plain gold circlet. Cabaret's description does not square with this simple design, nor with any collar contemporary with his chronicle. Muratore, who sought to pin down the changes in the design of the collar to particular periods using both pictorial and documentary evidence, concluded that there could have been no one fixed design. However, the pendant badge was consistently made up of three knots, and not nine - the form of the actual collar varied the most, so Servion's description of "linked laurel leaves enamelled

in green" can not be ruled out. The evidence tends to suggest, too, that the members were allowed to personalise their collars. The funerary statue of Humbert, half-brother of Amédée VIII, at Haultecombe, shows the collar as a plain band with the pendant ring formed of 3 love knots, but with the addition of his own motto "Alahac" (Arabic for 'God is Just'), a souvenir of his crusading days against the Turk. In 1445, the two collars presented at a memorial service at the order's chapel at Pierrehâtel, were made "a la devise de mondits^r de geneve et lautre a la devise de monsr de Romont".⁷⁶

Amédée had adopted the love knot as a device as early as 1356 when some 240 "nodis ad devisam domini" were painted on the horsetrappings and other equipment for a joust held at Chambéry in June of that year.⁷⁷ It continued to be favoured as a device personal to the court well into the fifteenth century, either in isolation or in association with the motto of the order "Fert". Unlike the porcupine, however, it was never exclusively associated with the order. In January 1380, for example, a set of green tapestries peppered with the device, were purchased in Paris, and in 1398 a black houppelande made for the young Amédée VIII, bore a hawthorn and 3 love knots on the left sleeve.⁷⁸ To all intents and purposes, the order of the Collar had virtually ceased to exist at this latter date, hence the presence of the knots on the sleeve where livery badges were normally worn, confirms this personal, dynastic use. The collar itself was used more sparingly, first appearing in 1390 on horsetrappings for a joust held by the duke of Burgundy at Dijon, again used in conjunction with Amédée VII's other device, the falcon.⁷⁹ The

collar was the first known order to incorporate a pre-existing badge. In contrast to the previous Black Swan, the counts of Savoy clearly wished to establish it as the exclusive property of the Savoyard dynasty.

Cabaret's second major anachronism was the claim that the charterhouse of Pierrehâtel was founded at the same time as the order.

"Et ordonna le Conte a fonder une religion de Chartreux a prier Dieu pour la salut des XV chevaliers qui portoient celuy colier". 80

There is no mention of either the order of the Collar or Pierrehâtel in Amédée's first testament made on 3 January 1366 prior to his departure on crusade. His second, however, drawn up on his deathbed on 27 February 1383, ordered the construction of a monastery to the honour of the Virgin ("unum venerandum Coenobium seu Monasterium subnomine et ad honorem Beatae Virginis").⁸¹ The order's previous devotion to the Virgin Mary has already been noted in connection with the masses founded at Lausanne. Cabaret was correct in connecting the 15 knights chosen with the 15 joys of the Virgin, yet it is unlikely that Amédée would have founded the masses at Lausanne if he had already had the idea of founding a chapel specifically for the order.

Fifteen Carthusian brothers "ad honorem quindecim Gaudiorum intemeratae Virginis Marie" were to be maintained in the chapel built at the castle of Pierrehâtel, with the task of performing daily masses, prayers and other "divine offices" for the salvation of the count, his predecessors and the knights of the Order of the Collar. The Carthusians were to be given 1000 gold florins drawn annually from the revenues of neighbouring castellanies,

Pierrehâtel offering

though principally from Pierrehâtel and Cordon. In addition, 4000 florins were provided for the purchase of books, vestments and other furnishings. The foundation bears comparison with the Garter chapel, yet the Carthusian priests were never an integral part of the order itself.

Amédée's last wishes were brought to fruition by his widow Bonne de Bourbon and their son Amédée VII. By the end of 1383 the construction was commenced under the direction of Jehan de Liege, "maitre des oeuvres" and "expert en art de bateure, de maczonerie et de charpenterie".⁸²

When Cabaret was compiling his chronicle, Amédée's testament was most probably one of his sources, along with the statutes of the Collar drawn up in 1409 and the earlier statutes of the Black Swan. On two occasions the Treasurer's accounts make mention of his forays to monasteries in Savoy with the aim of recovering material for his chronicles.⁸³ His major source and inspiration was without doubt the statutes of 1409. The preamble to Amédée VIII's reinvented statutes of the Collar gives us our first description of the order, brief as it is.

"Cum ce feust que tres noble memoire feuz monsr amé Conte de Savoye notre grant pere tres hault et tres puissant prince qui morut en puillee a lonneur de dieu de la glorieuse vierge marie de ses quinze Joyes des sains et des saintes de paradis et de toute la court celestiel eust ordonne ung ordre du collier par la maniere et devise alaz au pendent dung collier duquel ordre Il fu et ses successeurs seigneur et chief lui quinzeme des chevaliers portans le dit ordre. Et pour la confirmation dudit ordre feussent faites certaines constitucions et ordonnances lesquelles devoient estre observees tant en leur vie comme apres le trespassement dung chascun deulx".⁸⁴

Clearly by 1409 all trace of the original statutes, if they had in

fact been set in writing, had been lost. The preamble implies that they may have been transmitted orally:

"et desquelles (i.e. statutes) a present on ne puet avoir playne memoire. Et celle la quelle on aurait par faulte descripture se pourroit Reduire en oblivion".

Among the fifteen seals ranged along the foot of the document, are those of Oddon de Villars, Yblet de Challant and Jehan de Vernay, all created knights of the Collar by Amédée VII. They provided some sense of continuity in the attempt to re-establish the original ideals, if not the actual statutes of Amédée VI's order.

In number and style the statutes hark back to their Black Swan precedent rather than the contemporary Castilian Band or the Garter. The choice of 15 statutes completed the symbolism of the 15 knights and the order's dedication to the "15 joys" of the Virgin. Seven more in number than the Black Swan, they maintain the same straightforward simplicity, rejecting the elaborate provisions which characterised the Garter. If Amédée VI was looking for a model for his order in 1364 it made sense to look no further than his previous foundation. Certain features of the Black Swan were therefore carried forward into the refoundation of 1409. An early example of a knightly confraternity, the Black Swan emphasized mutual military, moral and financial obligations. Each "compaignon" vowed to assist his fellows at his own expense against all enemies beyond the degree of first cousin. The statutes singled out the "grans seigneurs" of the order (viz. Amédée VI, the count of Geneva and Galeazzo Visconti) but only to stress that they were to defray the expenses of any service of

the companions. This provision does not negate the Black Swan's overall fraternal nature as a band of brothers-in-arms, joined together to primarily military ends. The Collar adopted the fraternal obligations owed to each member, but emphasized the mutual duties to counsel and advise, rather than the military service made so explicit in the Black Swan. Each "frere and compaignon" was to give "ayde, secours, confort, faveur et conseil" to his fellows as also to the count, the head or "seigneur et chief" of the order. Like the Black Swan, this service was against all persons, "de quelconque condicion que elles soyent" excepting their own lords and vassals and relations within the degree of first cousin. The count, in turn, undertook to "aid, give favour and advice" to the members and maintain their rights, reciprocated by their promise to further his "honour and profit" and that of the order. Servion had correctly captured the flavour of the order when he stressed that the Collar was an "ordre de freres", but unlike the apparent equality of the Black Swan, there was no ambiguity about the position of the count within the Collar. In Servion's account, Amédée VI takes the collar first "non pas comme signieur mais comme frere et compaignon de ceulx qui en seront".⁸⁵ This is flatly contradicted in the preamble of 1409 where Amédée VI is described as "seigneur et chief" of his order. The statutes which follow never dispute the count's paramount position. He was always at the centre of an decision-making - the onus was on his judgement in settling internal disputes and he, moreover, assumed some of the financial burdens, providing the lighting at the remembrance services held at Pierrechâtel and the meal afterwards, always

present at the fixing of the date of the "sepulture", and, more critically, at the election of a new member. The additional statutes drawn up at Pierrehâtel in February 1434 maintained this ambiguity - this blend of fraternal qualities, with ultimate control by the count. Influenced, on this occasion, by the recent foundation of the Burgundian Golden Fleece, Amédée VIII introduced the solemn procession of the Knights of the Collar at the solemn funeral of a companion, organised "sans aucune eslation de gre en gre, chescun sellon la priorité de sa reception".⁸⁶ The Collar demonstrates rather neatly the argument that the "fraternity of knights, regarding each other as brothers-in-arms" gave way in the fifteenth century to "an association acting under a sovereign".⁸⁷ Because its statutes drew so heavily for their inspiration on those of the Black Swan, the Collar reflects more truly its origins in such fraternities, than any of its fifteenth century contemporaries.

These origins are similarly betrayed in the statutes dealing with the settlement of disputes. In the Black Swan, internal disputes were submitted to the adjudication of four others while those involving a non-member were resolved by the interrogation of the latter by the knights of the order. The provisions of the Collar amplify these - internal quarrels were judged by the Chief and two or more members "qui nous sembleront estre plus paciffiques et moynes suspez". If, however, the dispute involved the Chief himself, the matter was put to four or more companions "selon Raison et equité, per maniere quil nestoient faicz despens ne missions litigiruses". Should a case prove problematic, two learned doctors were to be brought in to sort out the matter as

quickly as possible ("pour plus brevement et mieulx mettre les chouses en clarte"). Such clauses were common to fraternal orders but did not automatically appear in major "curial" orders. Considering the growth of the Savoyard dominions in the fourteenth and into the early fifteenth century, it is not surprising that both Amédée VI and his grandson felt such elaborate provisions necessary. How effective they were in coping with internal dissensions in reality is more problematic. The downfall of the Black Swan may have resulted from the defection of one of its "grans seigneurs" in 1352, the count of Geneva. In Amédée VIII's period as Chief there is no record of any need to set such a procedure in motion, but later in the century, his less able son and grandson facing the contumacy of a number of their vassals, sought to bring them to heel by threatening removal of the order of the Collar.

Louis assumed full title and powers as duke in 1440 after his father's elevation to the papacy.⁸⁸ The new duke had inherited Amédée VIII's artistic inclinations but little of his aptitude in his dealings with his vassals. Incensed by the favouritism shown at court to a select coterie of Cypriots and Piedmontese and the continued power of certain well-placed but low born administrators, the old titled Savoyard families gave vent to their suppressed frustrations. In 1446 Jean de Seyssel sg^r de Barjac and marshall of Savoy, Francois de la Palud, sg^r de Varembon and Guillaume de Luyrieux sg^r de la Cueille, all Collar knights, formed a league of discontents against Jean de Compeys, sg^r de Thorens and baillif of the Genevois, counsellor, great chamberlain and intimate of the duke. Compeys was a talented joustier who had

made a name for himself at the Pas d'Armes de l'Arbre de Charlemagne in Burgundy, and now cut a dash at the court of Savoy. The chronicler of the Du Challant, Pierre Dubois, describes the dissensions leading up to the crisis succinctly:

"It so happened, that because of the arrogance and envies, at the court of Savoy, parties were formed and conspiracies ("debas secretz") made, incredible jealousies and terrible cursings. Certain Cypriots who had come with the duchess of Savoy wished to be advanced to the detriment of the great lords of the court; thus those who supported the Cypriots to please the duchess, were "in" at court, and the other nobles ostracised ("debouttees"). A number of these resolved to make alliance together and take vengeance on the former, and to this end they drew up chapters".⁸⁹

The league, which assembled at Varembo, swore to remain loyal to the duke and his children, the principal ministers of his council and the knights of the Collar. These were shown to the duke by Pierre de Menthon, one of the conspirators, because "les chappitres estoient honnorables qui ne luy entendit que bien".⁹⁰ As Louis' typical response to a crisis was inaction, the league interpreted his silence on this occasion as his tacit assent. In August, four of the league attacked Compeys while he was hunting at Mont Salere. Compeys survived but the possessions of his attackers were immediately confiscated, their castles occupied or razed to the ground, and they, themselves, banished.⁹¹ Amédée VIII intervened to defuse the situation, but enmities flared up again after his death in 1451. Two years earlier Compeys and Gaspard de Varax had been given the command of the army sent against Francesco Sforza, thereby usurping the traditional duty of the marshall. Jean de Seyssel and the disenchanted who had collected round him, were further provoked by de Varax and Compeys' return to

favour at court after their ignominious defeat at the hands of the condottiere Bartolomeo Colleoni at Carpignano. The league demanded that the favourites and the Cypriots be sent away from court, but Compeys obtained a revocation of the original amnesty from Louis, who summoned the conspirators to appear before him and the Dauphin at Pont-au-voisin. Their failure to do so resulted in their banishment. While de Seyssel, la Palud and Luyrieux took refuge at Macon, they were approached by Savoy herald, who demanded the return of their collars of the order.⁹²

According to the statutes added in 1434, any member found guilty of a "reproche d'honneur" would immediately be asked to stop wearing the collar and return it to the "Chef" of the order within two years. Failing that, the "Chef" would have a herald sent to request that the collar be handed over. It would appear that the crimes of the above were considered sufficiently heinous to warrant the bypassing of the two years grace allowed before the return of the collar, as also the arbitration of the dispute laid down in the statutes of 1409. Rather than appealing to their fellow knights of the order, the rebels turned to an only too willing outside agent, Charles VII, eager to counteract the interventions of his son, the Dauphin. The treaty of Cleppé in 1452 rehabilitated the rebels but their sequestered estates were only returned to them in 1454 and it was a further two years before Louis was reconciled with de Seyssel, reinstating him as marshal, baillif and lieutenant-general of Bresse and knight of the Collar.⁹³

The second occasion on which the order was brought into play, saw a beleaguered member appeal to the authority of its statutes in

setting himself outwith ordinary judicial process. Jacques de Montmayeur, baron of Viller Salet, was made a knight of the Collar on the erection of the "comté de Montmayeur" in 1449. A violent man, in 1465 he imprisoned and decapitated Guy de Fesigny, president of the council resident at Chambéry, in revenge for his having seized the barony of Cusy for non appearance before the council to answer to unspecified charges. Subsequent attempts to bring him to justice for the murder were unsuccessful and in September 1473 Yolande duchess of Savoy annulled previous confiscations of his territories. Her son Charles, "le Guerrier" decided to take a firmer line than his predecessors and again summoned Montmayeur, in 1482, to answer the charges. When envoys arrived to fetch him, Montmayeur, through his son, informed them that as a knight of the Collar who had sworn to uphold its statutes, he would only answer to the charges in the presence of his fellow knights. On 23 June 1486, however, Montmayeur's goods were once again confiscated.⁹⁴

There is no surviving evidence to reveal any greater success in coping with minor disputes, but clearly the machinery of the Collar was inadequate to deal with major breakdowns, such as occurred in the mid-fifteenth century.

The most striking feature of the Collar is the emphasis of the statutes on the post mortem obligations of the members. Seven of the fifteen statutes of 1409 cover questions of provisions of prayers and masses for the dead and arrangements for the obsequies, an imbalance maintained in those of 1434 where three of the 5 additions imposed new duties on the members in this area. The order

of the Garter and the French order of the Star certainly contained a number of statutes of a similar type, yet they formed only a minor portion of the statutes as a whole. In the Collar, they are significant not merely by virtue of their number, but because they provided for the only occasion when the members met together as a group. Furthermore, surviving evidence suggests that this is one area where the Collar was continuously active from its foundation to its re-invention in 1409.

In late August 1366, two of the founder-members of the Collar who had accompanied Amédée VI on crusade, Simon de Saint-Amour and Roland de Veissy, were killed at the siege of Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. Eight torches were purchased by the count for offering at their funeral as he was bound to do by the Order of the Collar ("pro debito Ordinis Colaris").⁹⁵ At Amédée's own funeral at Haultecombe in 1383, a collar of the order, specially made for the purpose, was offered up and after the event, the actual collar, without the "devise" of the love-knots, was taken away by the servants of the archbishop of the Tarentaise.⁹⁶ When his son, Amédée VII, was buried some ten years later, however, his collar of the order was broken up along with other items of jewellery to pay for "cloth of gold, cendal (a type of silk), wax for candles and certain other things for the funeral".⁹⁷

From 1400 onwards a "registre obituaire" survives from Pierre-châtel containing the names of the Collar knights for whom a memorial service was celebrated.⁹⁸ This register provides our surest indication that Amédée VIII's statutes of 1409 were not formulated out of a vacuum, but based on a continuing tradition, however sporadic. Etienne de la Baulme, seigneur de Saint-Denis-le-Chausson, admiral and marshal of Savoy and founder member of the

Collar had specified in his testament that he wished his collar to be presented to PierreChâtel on his death.⁹⁹ On 29 October 1402, the register noted the reception of his collar, a banner of his arms and 100 florins. The statutes of 1409 required each member to provide 100 florins for the fabric of PierreChâtel, and his collar, banner and a coat of his arms for offering at the memorial service, to remain at PierreChâtel as a perpetual "memoyre du mort". The members were also required to present a set of vestments for the chaplains, each embroidered with his arms.

As with most devotional confraternities, the Collar imposed the obligation to provide purgatorial masses for the dead. Unlike the Garter, where the number of masses to be said varied according to the status of the member, the Collar, in harmony with its non hierarchic approach, imposed 100 masses from each member within three months of learning of the death of a companion. As the heir of each member had also to provide for 100 masses, each companion would have 1500 masses said on his behalf.

Whether the members actually observed these statutes consistently is not readily apparent from their surviving testaments at least. The powerful Challant clan of the Aoste provided six members of the Collar, yet their surviving testaments make no mention of their membership of the order. The testament of Girard de Ternier, 13 June 1418, in other ways so elaborate in its precise organisation of his burial, neither alludes to the Collar, nor considers it in any of the numerous legacies to churches.¹⁰⁰

However, perhaps the testators had made any stipulations to their heirs regarding the deliverance of their collar, banner and coat

of arms to the church and the heir's duty to provide masses, orally.

The post mortem memorial service or "sepulture" held at Pierrehâtel was the only occasion which demanded the attendance of the members of the Collar.¹⁰¹ Attendance was not compulsory, but only if the companion was "en lieu convenable". Each member appearing at this "sepulture du mort belle et honnorable" must wear the white robe as worn by the Carthusians themselves, and after the service they were to be presented to the church. The companions defrayed their own expenses for coming to the service, but the count/duke as "chief de lordre" would provide a feast for each knight plus two of his servants. He would also pay for four candles up to 100 pounds in weight. In 1434, as has been noted, the mourners at the "sepulture" were now to process according to their entry into the order to demonstrate its "purity and humility". New obligations were introduced which reflect Amédée VIII's continuing concern with the small details of form which hallmarked his Statuta Sabaudia. All members were now compelled to wear black "en signe de duel" and forbear from wearing their collar for a period of nine days upon learning of the death. In the Statuta, promulgated four years previously, the appropriate mourning period for brothers, during which [mantellos .. [and] .. capucia de profundo" should be worn, was fixed at nine days.¹⁰² In religious terms, nine days also completed the first stage in the mourning, the "neuvaine".

Depending on the status of the individual concerned, the role of the head of the order in the memorial service, was often greater than the statutes suggest. Oddon de Villars, sire de Baux and

St Sorlin had been a stalwart of the campaigns of Amédée VI and a confidant of his son, entrusted with the governorship of the young Amédée VIII until 1398. Governor and Captain-General of Piedmont, he was made a knight of the Collar prior to its refoundation in 1409, as he appears among the count's advisors on its compilation.¹⁰³ A mark of the respect with which he was held by Amédée, united with Villar's lack of an heir, may account for the count's assumption of the expenses of both his funeral at Chassaigne and his memorial at PierreChâtel on 25 October 1415, where he offered a banner and coat of arms "de le arme messr hodde de villars" on his behalf as well as providing 20 small shields with his arms and a quantity of wax.¹⁰⁴

For the memorial to Louis of Savoy, prince of Achaye on 11 December 1418, 325 florins were paid to various embroiderers from Milan for standards and banners while Amédée also assumed the cost of the chasuble and other vestments which, according to the statutes, Louis should have presented himself to Pierre-Châtel before his death ["le chassuble et les 2 toniques de diaque et de soudiaque que l'on doit porter a pierre chastel pour le sevelissement de mons^r le prince"].¹⁰⁵ Again, in 1445, the services for Amédée VIII's half brother, Humbert de Savoie, c^{te} de Romont, his son Philippe, count of Geneva and Anthoine de Grolée, involved the then duke Louis, in the expense of three collars to present at PierreChâtel as well as 3 coats of arms and vestments.¹⁰⁶

The emphasis on the confraternal-cum-religious aspects in the Collar statutes, to the detriment of chivalric and ceremonial ones which tend to dominate most other orders, may be partly

ascribed to the personality of its second founder. Amédée VIII does not fulfil the stereotype of the chivalric prince. Unlike his father and grandfather who both cut a dash at tournaments and excelled on the battlefield in the conduct of their many military campaigns, he preferred diplomatic channels to open conflict. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the later pope Pius II, described how he "was constantly being chosen as arbiter by one party or the other and he was considered the only one of them all who knew how to give good counsel to himself and others".¹⁰⁷ His efforts to bring the Anglo-French wars to a satisfactory conclusion earned him the sobriquet "the peace maker". His foundation of the Order of St Maurice bears the stamp of his own personality more truly than his consciously imitative resurrection of the Collar.

No statutes of this order, founded a month prior to the passing of the reins of state to Louis in November 1434, have survived. St Maurice, martyr of the Theban legions, whose reputed martial prowess made him a cult chivalric figure to rank alongside St George, was particularly venerated by the Savoyard dynasty. The retreat at Ripaille to which Amédée and his six companions retired, was near the spot where St Maurice was popularly believed to have suffered his martyrdom. But here was no order dedicated to the advancement of chivalry. Describing themselves as "soldiers of St Maurice", the members "assumed the cloak and robe, the girdle and crooked staff of hermits; they wore their beards long and their hair uncut ... On their breasts [they wore] a gold cross, the only sign of noble rank they retained. Everything

else indicated their scorn of the world".¹⁰⁸ "Noble rank", however, was not an essential criterion of membership. Lambert Oddinet was of low birth but had risen to become president of the ducal council, resident in Chambéry, an office which carried with it entry into the nobility. François de Bussy was the only member who was also a knight of the Collar, the others, Henri de Colombier, Claude du Saix, Louis de Chevelu and Amédée Champion were all of an age with Amédée and had served him diligently either in household office, as diplomats or as soldiers, for most of their careers. Their intimacy with Amédée and their mutual desire to enter into contemplative retreat with their duke dictated their membership of this order, and not their status. Pietistic and meditative, the order of St Maurice matched the more spiritual inclinations of the ageing duke.¹⁰⁹

The great curial orders have been described as reflecting the characteristics of the new international court culture, "a growing predilection for elaborate ceremonial and precise etiquette".¹¹⁰ Unlike most of the major chivalric orders, including the Angevin Crescent, the Collar in failing to introduce a regular or annual gathering of its membership into its statutes, deprived itself of an occasion to flaunt its exclusiveness in spectacular pageantry. Corporate attendance at the services at Pierrehôtel were uneven in their frequency and allowed little opportunity for display. The procession to the church was a low key affair. The members only prescribed costume was their white "Carthusian" habit, a muted statement compared with the rich blue and gold of the Garter robes or the vivid scarlet and crimson of the

Golden Fleece and Crescent. The processions of these latter orders generally took place in populous towns, e.g. Dijon, Bruges or Angers, permitting the order to maximise its impact. That of the Collar, at the isolated PierreChâtel, was a purely spiritual exercise adorned with only the barest of chivalric trappings.

Of all the late medieval Savoyard counts or dukes, Amédée VIII had the keenest sense of his own dignity and how to promote it, and on two occasions his distributions of the Collar formed an integral part of his policy of domination.

The line of the Savoy-Achaye came to an end on the evening of 11/12 December 1418 with the death of its last prince, Louis of Savoy.¹¹¹ His brother-in-law and heir, Amédée VIII, upon learning of this final illness, immediately broke off his elaborate preparations for a visit to the Dauphin Charles, and set off in haste for Piedmont. In order to pre-empt any intervention by the Visconti or the marquis of Montferrat, he quickly received at Turin the homage of his new vassals and representations from the various Piedmontese communities, and on 1 January 1419, announced the incorporation of the apanage into the duchy of Savoy. Throughout January and February the duke remained there to instigate changes which would bring his new territories into line with Savoy - all its coinage was replaced by that of Savoy ("ne quis mercaret, venderet vel emeret ad aliam monetam quam ad monetam Domini"), the Treasury was reorganised and a new council was established at Pinerolo with a court of justice. Amédée's acquisition of the title was accompanied with considerable

pomp. The accounts show the refurbishment of the ceremonial sword carried before the duke on all state occasions, as well as the purchase of a thousand small banners for attaching to lances, each bearing the device of the knot embroidered in gold. Profiting from the recent deaths of three members, Amédée made 3 new distributions of the collar - ("collier de lordre de monseigneur quil doit donner") - perhaps to Gaspard de Montmayeur and Jean de Montluel, sgr d'Auteville, who had accompanied him to Piedmont. It was crucial that Amédée should settle the succession and Savoyard domination of these territories as swiftly and as painlessly as possible. His lavish display of feudal superiority, princely munificence and courtly ritual was intended to dazzle and impress and profer hopes of wealth and preferment at court. If Amédée was successful in the fulfilment of his ambitions, the Piedmontese never penetrated the select circle of the Collar in the fifteenth century.

Governing such disparate territories, it was as important for Amédée as it was later to be for Philip the Good and René d'Anjou, to instil in their vassals a sense of unity and devotion to the dynasty. Amédée's relinquishing of his authority in favour of his son, on 7 November 1434, was carefully orchestrated to reaffirm the loyalty of his nobles and ease the transition of these loyalties from the retiring duke to his inexperienced son.¹¹² Before a great concourse of nobles and prelates, Louis and his brother Philippe were knighted and given their new titles as Prince of Piedmont and Lieutenant-General of Savoy and Count of Genevois and made knights of the Collar. The

solemnity of the occasion is reflected in the few concrete details to be found in the accounts. Both princes were robed in cloth of gold embellished with the cross of Savoy and were assisted by ten pages decked out in grey. An unspecified number of heralds and minstrels were present and rewarded in the hope that they would publish the event the length and breadth of the continent. Several knights of the Collar were present to witness the induction of their two new companions - Humbert, count of Romont, the duke's half brother, Manfred of Saluces, Jacques de Miolans, Richard de Montchenu and Jean de Montluel sire de Châtillon. Such a combination of events was calculated to appeal to a nobility rooted in the chivalric tradition, and the symbiotic relationship of the order with the dynasty was never made clearer.

An analysis of the membership of the Collar presents a very different picture from the Orléanist Porcupine.¹¹³ While those of the latter reflect the vagaries of ducal policy in its overall incoherence, the Collar companions in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries present a contrasting homogeneity. Unusually, however, for an order of this type, the Collar statutes are singularly reticent on the appropriate qualities for membership or the mechanics of the election into the order. Noble birth, whether legitimate or not, was tacitly understood if not specifically stated. The members, too, are consistently referred to as "knights", as often as "companions and brothers". The 1409 requirement that the member should be "bon vaillant et prodome", was embellished

upon in the later additions, doubtless influenced by the recent statutes of the Golden Fleece, that no knight could be a member "qui soit infame daucun raproche d'onneur". Election procedure was described in similar concise fashion. Following the death of a companion, the head of the order would consult the other members on a suitable replacement. The new member was asked to swear to observe the statutes, made binding by the application of his seal to the statutes. The oaths of Girard du Ternier, Jean de la Chambre, viscount of Maurienne and Jean de Vernay were made in the presence of the count into the hands of his secretary, Jean Balay, at Thonon on 5 July and at Pierrehâtel on 3 December 1409.¹¹⁴ In 1424, Amédée VIII "graciously granted the order of his collar" to Louis de Chalon-Arlay, prince of Orange who, laying his hands on the bible, "promised to observe and maintain the constitutions of the order which had been read out to him beforehand".¹¹⁵

Two of the 1434 additions may have been borrowed directly from the Golden Fleece, but may also have arisen in response to problems which had emerged in the period 1409 to 1434 and of which no trace remains. A new clause was introduced permitting expulsion of any knight who had brought dishonour on himself, and hence on the order itself - "sil advenoit que dieu ne vuellie apres sa reception luy incider en reprocher donneur Encontinent sera tenus de soy demettre et non plus porter ledit collier...". The second clause deriving from the Golden Fleece forbade companions from accepting the collar of any other order.¹¹⁶ Clearly this had not been an issue in 1409 when Jean de la Baume

was also a member of the order of the Porcupine or Camail. This effort to preserve the exclusiveness of the order may have had more connection with Burgundy than mere imitation of the statutes. A number of Savoyard nobles owed allegiance to the Burgundian dukes for lands held across their borders.¹¹⁷ However amiable the relationship between the two dukes, the Burgundians felt no qualms about interfering in Savoyard affairs or poaching among its servants. If a division of loyalties was to be avoided, such a measure, which emphasized the exclusive ties binding this elite group, could produce the desired effect.

As founders and hereditary Chiefs of the order, the strong dynastic presence of the house of Savoy among the membership comes as no surprise. Insufficient evidence survives to indicate whether each count or duke of Savoy was initiated into the order before he assumed this title, perhaps on the occasion of his becoming a knight as in the case of Louis, or only on the death of his predecessor. All the male members of the immediate ducal family did not automatically become members of the order, however. This may be partly ascribed to the limitation of the number of knights to fifteen. The Golden Fleece had quickly raised its numbers from the original twenty four in 1430 to thirty in 1433, in order to accommodate more men without waiting for members to die off. While all three of Amédée VIII's sons received the order, this was the privilege of only two of Louis' voluminous offspring, his heir Amédée, and his brother Janus, count of Genevois. François, Pierre and Jean Louis were disbarred because

they were in holy orders but Jacques, c^{te} de Romont and Philippe, c^{te} de Bresse, were never members.¹¹⁸

Room was made, however, for representatives of other branches of the dynasty. The precedent was set at the foundation. According to the list of putative founder knights provided by Cabaret and Servion, four were directly related to Amédée VI - his first cousin Amédée III, count of Genevois, his second cousins Antoine de Beaujeu and Guillaume de Grandson, and Aymon de Genève-Anthon. A fifth, Hugues de Chalon-Arlay was related to him by marriage. This dynastic flavour was maintained in fifteenth century creations, if somewhat diluted. The lands and title of the count of Geneva passed to the counts of Savoy in 1405, but descendants of the family continued to be represented in the Collar by the illegitimate line of the Genève-Lullin. Thomas de Genève-Lullin was one of the few creations of Amédée VII. His son, Guillaume, and grandson, Jean, were bearers of this family tradition under the dukes Louis and Amédée IX. Another branch, the princes of Savoy-Achaye, were represented firstly by its last prince, Louis, and then by his illegitimate son, Loys de la Morée, seigneur de Racconis. In common with the Porcupine, then, but unlike the Crescent, illegitimate birth was no bar to membership, and had certainly not prevented Amédée VIII's own half brother, Humbert of Savoy, count of Romont from receiving the Collar. Clearly the counts and dukes of Savoy realised that the family could be an important source of cohesion as also disruption and that it would be ultimately to their interest to involve the junior

branches in the affairs of the duchy as also in the ranks of their order. Mid century, however, this relationship broke down. Though Philippe of Bresse's exclusion from the Collar was not the cause of his disaffection, it neatly symbolises his political ostracism.

As with any order of chivalry, a high premium was set on martial valour. Most orders stated this explicitly in their statutes. The Crescent exhorted its companions to perform deeds of valour which would then be recorded for posterity in a special chronicle. With the Collar this must be measured by the qualities of its companions. In its initial phase, the order won especial esteem by its early association with the Crusade. The chronology of the foundation suggests strongly that Amédée VI had his crusade of 1366 already firmly in view, and all the members accompanied him on this venture or sent proxies.¹¹⁹ But although his grandson was to express a desire to lead a crusade or go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the order was never again particularly associated with the crusade.¹²⁰ The first companions had been Amédée VI's true "brothers-in-arms" accompanying him on his campaigns in Piedmont, Saluzzo and the Dauphiné. Berlion de Foras, for example, a knight from the Genevois, had also been a member of the Black Swan, was present in the tournament team of the count at Bourg-en-Bresse in 1353, where Amédée acquired the sobriquet "the Green Count" and accompanied him to France in 1355. Richard Musard, an English knight of middling rank, was a favourite of Amédée's from 1361 onwards. The later dukes eschewed the personal

leadership of their armies, delegating this task more and more to their marshals. Ten out of the fifteen marshals of Savoy between 1353 and 1500 are known to have received the Collar. According to the Statuta of 1430, the office of marshal was "to command the armies of the prince and to give orders to the generals in the absence of the prince or with his consent". The office increasingly involved considerable diplomatic duties. Most of the marshals probably received the order at the same time as their elevation to the office. Dubois noted that after 8 years in France in the service of Bertrand du Guesclin and Olivier du Clisson, followed by 3 years in the Holy Land, Boniface de Challant, sg^r de Fenis, returned to a rapturous reception in Savoy. He was "retained at court in the council of Amé of Savoy, son of the Red Count. And immediately he was made Marshal of Savoy and of the collar and order of the said lord".¹²¹ Obviously this was not always possible as a vacancy in the order only arose on the death of a member. In the case of Claude de Seyssel, seigneur d'Aix, his promotion to Marshal and member of the Collar in 1465 coincided on the death of his father Jean de Seyssel, leaving vacant both positions.¹²²

High office in central or regional government, rather than in the ducal household alone, was an important criterion of membership. Conversely, membership was not the natural corollary of high office. Henri de Colombier, sg^r de Vufflens was chamberlain, Lieutenant-General in Piedmont and entrusted with a number of delicate missions to the pope and the Emperor at the Council of

Constance in 1414, but was never a member of the Collar. The Lieutenants-General, Captains-General, Governors or, below them, the "baillis", were the representatives of the ducal authority in his territories of Bresse, Bugey, the Vaud, Piedmont and Nice. Trustworthy men were vital. Many of the marshals and Collar knights also held one of these posts. Jean de Seyssel, marshal from 1433 to 1465, was Lieutenant-General of Bresse in 1440 and at the same date, Jacques de Montmayeur, marshal from 1455 to 1465, was Lieutenant-General of Savoy. Boniface de Challant was despatched to Nice in 1399 as Lieutenant and Commissary-General: in 1404 he was "bailli" of Savoy and in 1410, Governor of Piedmont. In common with other Collar knights, Challant was entrusted with important embassies. In 1396 he was sent to pacify the Marquis of Montferrat and the commune of Chieri; in 1408 his task was to reconcile Montferrat and Louis, prince of Achaye. A year previously he had been involved in the negotiations leading to the marriage contract of Jean-Jacques Paléologue, son of the Marquis of Montferrat and Amédée's sister Jeanne. 1412 saw him in France seeking a conciliation of Louis of Guyenne, the dauphin, with the dukes of Burgundy and Berry and a few years before his death in 1426, he was a member of the embassy sent to Milan to negotiate the peace between Filippo Maria Visconti and the Emperor Sigismund.¹²³ Boniface was not unique. The constant involvement of Collar knights in the hectic and time consuming business of diplomacy withdrew them from the presence of the dukes for long stretches and they were never the intimates of the duke in the same way the first founders had been. As a

group, however, they were more cosmopolitan. The career of Jean de la Baulme, count of Montrevel in Bresse, who became a knight of the Collar some time before 1409, is fairly typical of many of his companions whose talents had been honed in service both at home and abroad. La Baulme had accompanied Amédée VI to Italy in 1382 and remained, on the latter's death, to serve Louis I d'Anjou who retained him as his councillor and made him count of Sinopoli in Calabria. Henceforward, he led a dual career, showered with honours and offices in Savoy and France. The list is impressive. In 1396 he was Lieutenant General of Bresse and a year later was described as Amédée VIII's "conseiller special et commensal". We have seen him favoured with the office of chamberlain and the Porcupine from Louis d'Orléans, and his reception into the Collar probably dates from the same period. By 1413 he was chamberlain and councillor to the duke of Burgundy. Charles VI named him chamberlain and then Marshal of France in 1422 and for a brief two months he was provost of Paris. Yet he continued to serve his natural overlord and in recognition of his services, the barony of Montrevel was raised into a "comté" in 1427.¹²⁴ His son Jacques, similarly split his interests to his advantage. He began his career in the household of John the Fearless but after the latter's assassination was acquired by Charles VI who nominated him his lieutenant-general in the "pays de Velay", seneschal of Lyon and Valentinois, eventually granting him the office of "Maitre des Arbalestriers" of France. In Savoy his career continued apace - Lieutenant-General

of Bresse, c. 1438-40, constant member of the ducal council and Collar knight.¹²⁵ To have such men of high profile in one's order could only add to its kudos.

But, however much the companions became involved in the affairs of France or Italy, the Collar was geographically exclusive to a high degree. Apart from Roland de Veissy, Jean de Vienne and Richard Musard, whose inclusion amongst the first founders, despite their French or English origins, is an indication of their intimacy with Amédée VI, the subsequent members were drawn solidly from Savoy territories and predominantly from Savoy itself, Bresse and Bugey, the oldest parts of the ducal dominions. Where more recent acquisitions were concerned, as in Piedmont or Saluzzo, only the head of the ruling house was admitted. Thomas III, marquis of Saluzzo, received his collar in 1413 on the day he had capitulated and sworn homage to his old enemy, the count. Amédée in turn reinvested him with his lands as a vassal, thus ending centuries of animosity between the two dynasties. When, in August 1424, Manfrey de Saluzzo came to Thonon for the same investiture, he was similarly made a Knight of the Collar. For the Saluzzo the Collar was the sugar coating on the bitter pill of their subjection to domination by the dukes of Savoy. It is to Amédée's credit that his delicate handling of the situation made the marquises his staunch allies and servants rather than a constant source of resistance.¹²⁶ On a second occasion, his bestowal of the Collar signified the successful outcome of a political problem. Amédée's

possession of the Genevois was contested by Louis de Chalon-Arlay, prince of Orange, who claimed it as the legitimate heir via the two daughters of the last count Amé III, his grandmother Jeanne de Genève and his aunt Blanche de Genève. Louis went as far as to mint his own coinage bearing the arms of Geneva. The affair was eventually settled by the Treaty of Morges (2 October 1424) whereby Louis agreed to drop his claims in return for an annual rent of 12000 florins and various lands and chatellenies in the Dauphiné. Louis was welcomed at Morges in considerable style and as the recent death of Humbert de Thoire-Villers had, fortuitously, left a vacancy in the Collar, he was received into the order. In practical terms, membership was probably less of a consideration than the financial and territorial arrangements, but as a visually impressive symbol of the accommodation reached between the two, it was without equal. At any rate, Louis was not impervious to the prestige to be gained from membership of an order, and in 1429 he was elected into the Golden Fleece. This was shortlived - late 1430 he was expelled on the grounds that he had fled from the Battle of Anthon in June.¹²⁷

The early Chiefs of the Collar were never tempted to bestow the order on foreign potentates. Exclusively Savoyard, it was to represent the highest echelons of the nobility, with a sprinkling of the meritorious middle rankers, and with the count or duke as its undisputed head. The example of first founder Aymon Bonivard, was not to be repeated in the fifteenth century. Born into a burgher family which had attained noble status, none of his illustrious descendants would appear to have been admitted, not even

Andrée Bonivard who became marshal of Savoy some time around 1471. Later companions were drawn predominantly from the upper echelons of the nobility, the La Chambre who held vast tracts of land and more than a dozen castles in the Maurienne and proudly boasted, "C'est le Tres Haut qui nous a fondés", or the Montmayeur who provided 3 members, the two Gaspard and the notorious Jacques. The most striking example of an hereditary tendency within the order, is the Challant clan of the Val d'Aoste. Six of this family were Collar knights between 1383 and 1484 - Aymon, lord of Fenis (between 1383 and 1389), Yblet, lord of Montjovet (c.1391), Boniface, lord of Fenis (pre 1409), Francis, 1st count of Challant (c.1430), Jacques 2nd count of Challant (c.1456) and Louis, 3rd count of Challant (post 1465). Dubois, in typical adulation, described the Challant as, "the most magnificent and excellent house, renowned ... not only in the noble country of Savoy, but even beyond the sea...". Although Boniface was the only one elevated to the office of Marshal, the others all held significant positions. Yblet was governor of Piedmont (c.1387), Jacques, that of Vercelli. Both Boniface and his nephew Jacques had spent time in France, the latter in the armies of Louis XI. According to Dubois, he was extremely popular with the dukes of Bourbon, Milan and Burgundy - "de partout fust de hostel, du conseil et avancie haultement". Their chivalric record was impeccable - Yblet and Boniface went on crusade and both Boniface and Jacques won acclaim for their jousting prowess at Paris in 1398 and at the Pas d'armes de L'Arbre de Charlemagne in 1443.¹²⁸

Further evidence of the concern of the Chiefs to constrict membership to men of high status from their dominions, is their elevation of four of the most notable families in the order to the rank of count - Philippe de Levis as Count of Villars in 1432, Francois de Callant as Count of Challant in 1430, Jean de la Baulme as Count of Montrevel in 1427 and Jacques de Montmayeur as count of the same in 1449.

The most recent historian of the Collar has attributed the long survival of the order to "the prestige and longevity of its founder, in part to the fact that his dominions devolved peacefully after his death to his son and successive generations ... and in part to its small size and relatively simple nature".¹²⁹ For all the attention that has focussed on the order of Amédée VI, the Collar was remarkably quiescent for the first forty years of its existence. Given its close association with the crusade of 1366, there is no clear evidence to suggest that it was intended to be any more permanent than its predecessor, the Black Swan. The credit for the Collar's success must lie squarely with Amédée VIII who, by fixing the statutes in writing, and consistently bringing the order to public attention on ceremonial occasions, enabled it to ride out the disinterest of his successors until its second rejuvenation under Charles III in 1518. When Amédée undertook to renovate the Collar in 1409, it was in his interest to look back to the foundation of his, by now, semi-legendary grandfather rather than establish a totally new order. The barebones had been carried down via the few members Amédée VII had chosen and the appeal to the tradition of the past, exemplified in the preservation

in the new statutes of the confraternal ambience of the original foundation, was an attractive one for the nobility. In spite of this the Collar was in no sense an anachronism. The statutes may have contained little of the ritual and elitism normally associated with fifteenth-century orders, this in deference to the original "brotherhood", but the new social exclusiveness of its membership was in tune with contemporary noble aspirations.

Forty years had wrought significant social and political change in Savoy. The remodelled Collar was, in part, one attempt to come to terms with these. The first twenty years of the century saw the continued expansion of the Savoyard dominions - Geneva and the Genevois, Thoire and Villars, Saluzzo and Piedmont all succumbed to military pressure, financial persuasiveness or the laws of heredity. This was matched at the centre by a dramatic expansion of household offices. Drawing inspiration from his visits to the court of his Burgundian father-in-law, Amédée organised his own household on French terms. As he required his most prestigious feudatories to act as his agents in overseeing his authority in his disparate domains, the chief domestic offices were filled by younger members or junior branches of the families. At the same period Savoy sprang onto the political stage as a fairly major Alpine power with an unusually pacific ruler at its head. If military campaigns in the service of the duke tailed off, diplomatic activity multiplied. Distanced from their previous close contact with their prince, the nobles felt increasing resentment against those benefiting from being permanently in his presence. The Collar went some way to restore

the bond between the prince and his major vassals in a mutually acceptable manner. As the great feudatories were the most potentially dangerous as a source of particularistic ferment, the order was an attempt to exert a form of social control over them by appealing to their chivalric sense of honour. Amédée VI had not resorted to his foundation of the Collar as a means of uniting his vassals behind his interests, as their loyalty had been tried and tested on numerous occasions previously.

The Collar appealed to the snobbery of the nobility in its social elitism, a characteristic absent from the first foundation with its democratic mix of high born, middling aristocracy and at least one member of bourgeois origins. Amédée VIII was an active promoter of non-nobles in his court. The bourgeois Oddinet, Marchand and Marechal families were eventually themselves ennobled. But he was also a great respecter of status, especially his own. His hierarchical world view is crystallised in the Statuta Sabaudia regulating the type of clothes, marriage and funeral appropriate for each sector of society. Any such attempt to impose sumptuary laws is a sign of contemporary social fluidity. An order like the Collar which affirmed the caste-like superiority of the nobility was destined to be popular with this class.

As well as the honorific function it clearly served, the Collar exalted the Savoyard dynasty. Of his immediate predecessor, and successors, Amédée VIII was the most conscious of his image; he was also a master at self-presentation. At key ceremonial occasions he incorporated the bestowal of the collar into the ritual, be it

the celebration of a peace treaty, the creation of a count or a Marshal or the knighting of his two sons. Great gatherings of both local and foreign nobles, they were intended to publicise the standing of the duke. Neither Louis, who has been accredited with a penchant for ceremonial, nor the more ascetic Amédée IX, appreciated the impact of such stage managed events. Both dukes would appear to have adhered to their duties as Chief of the Collar in a perfunctory fashion. The accounts record purchase of mourning garments for the memorial service, candles and the occasional Collar, but there was no attempt to integrate the collar as an active part of their policy for the nobles. According to the Vita Beata Amedea, Amédée IX, moved by compassion for a subject who complained of the burden of taxes, distributed the contents of his purse to the man and his companions and "pulling off the Collar of his order, gave it to them, telling them to sell it to pay off their debts".¹³⁰ While Amédée VIII's handling of the Collar was always controlled and assured, the breakdown of loyalties between its members and its chief in the period of his successors, was symptomatic of the disintegration of their authority. As with any order, the personality and active interest of the prince was crucial for its survival.

III

Founded in 1448, the Angevin Order of the Crescent belongs to that second phase of foundations, when it was predominantly princes of substantial wealth and independence who alone could

afford to maintain an order of chivalry. For a number of reasons, historians' attitude towards the Crescent has been ambivalent. Should it be ranked among premier league orders like the Garter or Golden Fleece as¹³¹ the most spectacular means of creating influence or was it merely a harmless gentleman's club of high idealism and little significance? Its founder, René d'Anjou, has become a byword for political and military incompetence and chivalric extravaganza. His court has been described as "un décor de féerie et non plus le cadre d'une administration pratique".¹³² The result has been the trivialisation of the Crescent, understood only as symptomatic of the decline of chivalry in the fifteenth century with its excessive emphasis on style, etiquette and ceremony. Boulton, in the most recent survey of chivalric orders, refuses to recognise it as a true princely order on the grounds that it was really a dressed up confraternity.¹³³ All orders, however, drew eclectically from a variety of influences, hence they are as multifaceted in their format as they were in their original intent.

Olivier de la Marche's oft-quoted dictum on what constituted a true order or "ordre de prince", stated that it required written statutes, a restricted membership and prescribed "feasts and solemnities". Accordingly he labelled the Porcupine, with some justification, but also the Crescent, as livery badges and not true orders. La Marche was either ignorant of, or chose to overlook, the Crescent's impressive body of statutes containing extensive regulations on the procedure of its annual feast and its membership of 50. The Crescent is richly endowed with

surviving documentation of the sort that is entirely lacking for the Porcupine or Collar. No contemporary chronicler was concerned enough to leave us an account of the order's foundation or its subsequent dealings, but a number of copies of its statutes remain as well as a seventeenth century transcription of part of the register of the "Actes, arrests et conclusions fait es conseils de l'Ordre du Croissant". One contemporary version of the statutes is decorated with the blazonry of its first members, in all likelihood the same "Livre des Blazons des chevaliers et escuiers de lordre du Croissant", for which 4½ dozen leaves of fine parchment were bought in July 1449.¹³⁴ Religious services held in honour of the Crescent may be traced in the "Registre Capitulaire" of the cathedral of St Maurice, Angers, which shows their continuation right up to the year of Rene's death in 1480, a date at which the order was previously believed to have become entirely moribund.¹³⁵ Household accounts, too, furnish precious indications of the activities surrounding the establishment of the order.¹³⁶

In 1448 only a few orders remained in existence - the Band, the Garter, the Collar and the Golden Fleece. René's foundation, however, was not without more direct precedents. Some time between the years 1365 and 1370, his grandfather Louis, had commenced the "Ordre de la Croix". Remarkably little is known about the order, though it had as its emblem, the double cross of Anjou. A surviving inventory of Louis' amassed treasures itemises a number of objects bearing this cross, in particular

a large throne like chair, "facon de chaire de prelat", from the back of which rose two eagles with their wings stretched out. From their beaks hung two chains with shields at each end, one enamelled with the fleur de lis, the other "a nostre ordre de la Croix".¹³⁷ It is possible that this so-called "order" may have been a livery badge, but it is equally likely that Louis was influenced by his father's more formalised Order of the Star.

An order with which René may have had more direct connections, was the "Association du Levrier Blanc", organised by a number of nobles in the duchy of Bar in May 1416. From its statutes, couched in terms redolent of those of the "Pomme d'Or" of the Auvergne, or the later Fraternity of St George, it is evident that the "Association" was in the nature of a brotherhood of arms or knightly fraternity.¹³⁸ The company swore on oath to support each other with their love, loyalty and armed force if needs be - "nous tous serons tenus de servir a nos depens celui a qui on seroit damage". Like the articles of the Savoyard Black Swan, the terms of this service are set down in detail. A banneret was to serve with 3 men, a "simple knight" with two and a squire with one, for eight days after their aggrieved companion had made his case known to the company. Three unusual features distinguish this order from other fraternities. The company was placed in the protection of their feudal superior, Louis, cardinal and duke of Bar, who, acting like an honorary member, was involved in the election of new members and the settlement of quarrels. The members swore to "maintain his honour and profit with all our

power as good vassals should to their good lords". Secondly, the statutes stipulated that the "association" was to last only for five years and thirdly, a "King" was to be chosen annually from among their number who would oversee elections and the regulation of disputes. It is interesting to speculate that René, who arrived in the Barrois as adoptive heir of the Cardinal some time in 1419, drew on these features for the later Crescent - the annual election of a "King" as a model for the Crescent's Senator, the protection of the "Sovereign Seigneur", and the confraternal aspects, reworked in the Crescent in much the same way as Amédée VI and his grandson remodelled the Black Swan in the Collar.

After his defeat at Bulgneville in 1431, René was held prisoner by Philip the Good, at Dijon and elsewhere in the Burgundian dominions. It was in many ways a fruitful confinement, bringing him into contact, not only with Flemish art, but also the newly erected Order of the Golden Fleece. He may have attended its assembly at Dijon in 1433, and he certainly had knowledge of its statutes. Many aspects of the Crescent statutes are clear borrowings from those of the Golden Fleece - the conditions for expulsion from the order, dress regulations, officers, the examination into the conduct of each member, the services and processions at the time of the annual assemblies and the possibility of voting by proxy. The Crescent exemplifies René's desire to emulate and even outdo the Burgundians. An Angevin-Burgundian rivalry was the legacy of generations. Juvénal des Ursins reports the undignified jostling between Louis I

d'Anjou and his brother Philip of Burgundy for the seat of honour beside the newly crowned Charles VI.¹³⁹ Ill feeling was exacerbated by the sending back to Burgundy of the young Marie, intended bride of Louis III, following the assassination of Louis d'Orléans in 1407. Since his return from Italy in 1442, René had continued to pursue his mother's "Angevinisation" of the French court of his brother-in-law. He and his brother, Charles du Maine, are to be found consistently in the royal council and René was a constant companion of the king. The tensions and jealousies aroused by their real or imagined influence on the king, were noted assiduously by foreign observers. The Milanese ambassador reported to his master:-

"As to the state of affairs over here, we inform your lordship that as far as we can discover, there are in the heart of the house of France, great jealousies and burning disputes. None could be more violent than those between the illustrious lord Dauphin and the King René. This springs from the fact that the King René is the one by whom everything is done in the kingdom".¹⁴⁰

An exaggeration, perhaps, but a widely held view that was in currency right up until René's Italian campaign in 1453. In August 1451 Angelo Acciaiuoli wrote to Francesco Sforza that "the power of the King of France is so great that nobody can do anything unless he wills it and he loves King René and the House of Anjou more than all the others of his Kingdom". He notes that because of the war between René and the duke of Burgundy, there exists between them "non piccola malivolentia".¹⁴¹ The election of René's arch-rival, Alfonso V, King of Aragon and the two Sicilies into the Golden Fleece in December 1445 was a move not calculated to please René.¹⁴² In an atmosphere of envy and

mistrust, when two egotistic princes were constantly brought into enforced contact at Nancy, Châlons and elsewhere, the urge to outdazzle his former jailor must have contributed strongly to René's own foundation of an order.

Prior to his return to the French scene in 1442, little of René's personality emerges during his ward in Bar and Lorraine and Naples and the years of his imprisonment between. It is only with his forceful presence in the 1440s and 1450s that an insight into his character may be gained. These idiosyncracies fused with the elements drawn from extrinsic influences into the very personal nature of the Crescent.

The choice of the Crescent as the badge of the order, is the first indication of this. René has acquired a deserved reputation as a great lover of exotic possessions - rich eastern materials, carpets and clothes from Jerusalem and Cairo, Moorish slaves and all sorts of "turquoiserie". Louis I d'Anjou owned some 116 pieces of plate inscribed with "lettres moresques" or "lettres sarrasines" and had already used the crescent in association with the motto "Je le doy".¹⁴³ With René this theme became far more pervasive, a legacy of his extended campaigns in Italy. He used these exotic motifs to impressive visual effect in his tournaments of the 1440s. Leseur preserves details of the yellow velvet horse trappings of René's pages at Nancy in 1445, "studded with Turkish heads", presumably embroidered.¹⁴⁴ A year later at the "Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon" René was escorted into the lists by two Turkish "estafiers" in long tunics and red and white turbans, and one of the household dwarves dressed

similarly "a la Turque".¹⁴⁵

The crescent also allowed the play on words of its motto, "Los en Croissant" meaning "ever increasing glory". To this end the companions of the order are enjoined to strive to perform valiant deeds "so that their praise and renown may ever be on the increase from good to better". Unlike the Porcupine or Collar, the crescent was not appended to a collar, but worn under the right sleeve. The miniature from Marcello's Life of St Maurice dedicated to the order, shows one of its annual assemblies, where each member wears a crescent of enamelled gold with the motto picked out in blue.¹⁴⁶ Unlike the members of the Collar who must wear their badge every day, the Crescent required this only on Sundays and other Church festivals or at the Annual Assembly. Failure to do so incurred a financial penalty of one gold coin. However, if an individual wished to wear the Crescent every day "pour plus honourez ledit ordre", he might do so. At one of the monthly councils of the order, René suggested that the Senator should wear his every day so that his fellow members should know him. However this was on two occasions vetoed by his companions who preferred that this be left to the individual to decide.¹⁴⁷ More significant, perhaps, was the stipulation that the crescent was to be displayed beneath the coat of arms of each member "par tous les lieux et places", an instant visual symbol of their attachment to the Angevin cause.

The choice of St Maurice as the patron saint of the order, its "Chef, Patron, Conducteur et deffenseur" was not an entirely

fortuitous imitation of the Garter or the Golden Fleece under the protection of St George and St Andrew. Venerated by the dukes of Savoy, St Maurice "chevalier et tres glorieux martyr" was held up as the ideal knight to be emulated by the members of the Crescent. The seal designed for the order bore the half length portrait of the saint bearing his shield and lance¹⁴⁸ and the sealing wax used was to be white "to represent the purity of the said St Maurice" with a red silk pendant tag in honour of his martyrdom. The companions' devotion to their protector was made manifest by their annual assembly on his feast day, 22 September, in the Cathedral dedicated to him at Angers. The order's chaplain celebrated a weekly mass there. By 17 July 1451, the cathedral register recorded the foundation of daily masses but the altar of the order appears to have taken some time longer to arrange as an entry for 24 September 1455 noted the daily mass on the altar of Saint Maurice "de novis constructum".¹⁴⁹ These masses were maintained throughout Rene's lifetime by an annual payment of 100 livres to cover the expenses of the two candles on the altar, the canons who celebrated the mass and the sacristan who rang the bells. As time wore on, the chapter experienced some difficulty in receiving payment. In February 1459 René directed his treasurer in no uncertain terms, to have his 'Receveur ordinaire' Jehan Alardeau pay the arrears due for the maintenance of "the mass of the order of the crescent", which payments had been "omitted and neglected ... much to our discontent".¹⁵⁰ Only the arrears of 1456 and 1457 were paid on this occasion and some three months later René ordered

the proceeds of the sale of the house of Jean Joye to be diverted to the same ends.¹⁵¹ Again in August 1480 some 300 livres were overdue. René, in his final testament of 1474, made provision for the perpetual continuation of the mass with a legacy of 100 livres tournois annual rent and a single sum payment of 3000 livres for vestments, lighting (luminaire) and bellringing.¹⁵²

At a council of the order held at Launay in October 1450, it was decided to erect an "image de St Maurice la plus belle et Magnifique que faire se pourra" in the midst of the wall behind the altar and between the coats of arms of the members.¹⁵³ Eighteen months later, in January 1452, they were still deliberating the best way to paint the statue and brought in 2 or 3 painters to advise them on whether this should best be done by "escarboucle" of "cloth of gold". The representation of the annual assembly in the Marcello manuscript shows a gilt statue of the saint bearing the lance, palm of martyrdom and the crescent. The artist had probably never seen the actual statue, but it may be surmised that it was intended to represent the one in the cathedral at Angers.¹⁵⁴

The Angevin princes had forged special links with St Maurice and the cathedral at Angers a long time prior to the foundation of the Crescent. Louis I d'Anjou was the first to establish the cathedral as the dynastic mausoleum thereby creating the same symbolic ties with St Maurice as St Denis had for the French royal family.¹⁵⁵ Louis III's heart was brought back from Italy for burial there and by 1444 René began his own plans for

a magnificent chapel to house his tomb. In the light of this special relationship built up over 70 years, the choice of St Maurice as protector of the Crescent is highly significant, identifying the order closely with the Angevin dynasty.

René's own position within the order, appears at first sight rather ambivalent. The fact that he declined to assume the leadership of his own order has always been regarded as implying an abdication of all authority within it. In a letters patent of 23 September 1451, he stressed that he wished to be known as the "frere et Inventeur" of the order, the glory and praise due to the chief were to be lavished on Saint Maurice. He stipulated, moreover, that he wanted to be "as the least of the others of the said order, without having, nor asking for any pre-eminence and to be called merely Preserver and Maintainer [Manutenteur et Entreteneur] under the protection of the said Saint".¹⁵⁶ In his place at the head of the order, there was instead, a Senator elected by the members for one year. In this, at least, René was original and did not blithely imitate the Golden Fleece. The choice of the designation "Senator", eschewing the usual Chief (Collar), Sovereign (Garter and Golden Fleece), or Prince (Knot and Ship). This was perhaps drawn from the Barrois example of the annually elected 'King' in the 'Levrier Blanc' and René's own study of classical texts, of which he owned a large number.

The Senator was elected at the annual assembly by democratic vote of the entire corpus of knights and squires. The Senator's own vote counted as two. In September 1452, Bertrand de Beauvau,

sg^r of Precigné was elected by a majority of 13 votes.¹⁵⁷ The members and officers of the order swore to honour and obey him, but his obligations to them were more onerous than theirs to him. His prime duty was to attend "principally and above all other things, to everything pertaining to the good, honour and increase of the said order". He must love each companion equally, without preference, and correct and admonish them. In theory, his was the choice of the meeting place of the annual assembly but this was quickly established at Angers. His was the position of pre-eminence in the ritual of the feast day ceremonial. One of the miniatures in the Life of St Maurice shows the senator seated to the left of the chamber on a dais with the other knights seated beneath him on benches around the walls. This conforms with the statutes which note that the Senator was to sit "seul a l'honneur et au plus digne lieu". During the procession to the Cathedral, he was always last after the other knights, the King at Arms walking before him to symbolise his position of authority within the order. Apart from in a purely ceremonial and honorific sense, his actual status in real terms, is less apparent. A small but significant example drawn from the record of the monthly council hints at the true situation. On 4 September 1452, the question was posed - should the Senator, on his way to the offertory and his return, bow to René and his son Jean de Calabre? All present were agreed that he should. All the Angevin dukes were protective of their rank as king, but René particularly so. Always conscious of his regality, no occasion was lost in impressing this fact. In May 1444, at

his daughter Margaret's betrothal to Henry VI at Tours, he proceeded into the cathedral hand-in-hand ("insimul per manus attingentes") with his brother-in-law Charles VII - a very self-conscious display of their equal standing.¹⁵⁸ Again, during the tournaments to celebrate their marriage at Nancy, before a large congress of nobles from the French and English courts, René appeared attired in purple and gold brocade - purple, a colour usually reserved for kings.¹⁵⁹

The obligations of each member to the Senator were unremarkable - they must simply promise to honour and obey him in all the business of the order. Those to their Sovereign Lord were significantly greater - the promise to bear arms for no other (unless they are assured of the just cause of the other party) and never to act against him but to "aid and serve him loyally always". To take up arms against him was, however, to incur the ultimate sanction of expulsion. As the majority of the order were René's vassals, they were doubly bound to remain loyal. René had no need to make himself the de facto chief, as his sovereignty within the order was tacitly assumed by all. His nephew, Louis XI, recognised him as such when he bestowed the membership of his own order of St Michael on 14 July 1471. Louis' letter makes careful reference to the first article of the statutes which conceded that "all Kings who belong to another order of which they are the chief may legitimately wear it with the order of St Michael".¹⁶⁰

The seven Senators known to have held the office between 1448 and 1455 posed no threat to René's precedence within his

order. Two were of his own family - his son Jean de Calabre in 1453-4 and his son-in-law, Ferry de Vaudemont, 1454-5. Four were long serving officers and friends of the Angevin dynasty - Guy de Laval, Jean Cossa, Louis de Beauvau and his uncle Bertrand. All four could be trusted to toe the Angevin line, all holding important offices in René's service, as chamberlains and councillors, and in the government of his various domains. Guy de Laval, first Senator in 1448-9, Grand Veneur of Anjou, Barrois, Lorraine and Provence was given his crimson cloak of the order by René in 1450.¹⁶¹ Cossa, baron of Grimaldi, represented the most distinguished of a number of families who had given up their Sicilian lands to follow René back to Provence, a sacrifice which was well rewarded - in 1460 he was made Grand Seneschal of Provence.¹⁶² René recognised the Beauvau as the "principaulx serviteurs de notre maison d'anjou en laquelle Ilz ont servy moult grandement et louablement".¹⁶³ Bertrand, sq^r de Precigné, "grant Maistre d'ostel" and Captain of Angers had bought St Laurent des Mortiers in Anjou from René in 1438 to provide the 22000 royaux d'or needed for equipping troops for Sicily. He was later to marry René's natural daughter Blanche.¹⁶⁴ Louis de Beauvau, Seneschal of Anjou, along with Laval and Bertrand, was responsible for regulating René's marriage with Jeanne de Laval.¹⁶⁵ Constant companions of the King during the tournament phase of the 1440s, the Italian campaigns of the 1450s, they number among the most regular attenders of the early councils of the order.

René, himself, was the seventh Senator but he assumed the office on more than one occasion. A letter commissioning four Crescent knights to receive the oath of new member André de Haraucourt, dated 23 September 1462, was issued in René's name as "senator of the order of the Crescent for this present year".¹⁶⁶ An undated letter from later in the decade, summoning Jean du Bellay to the annual assembly at Angers, designates René as "tenant le lieu du Senateur de l'ordre du Croissant". On this occasion it would appear that René had stepped in to remotive the order, as the letter frankly admits that the custom of holding the annual assembly had rather fallen into desuetude because of "plusieurs legitimes Empeschements qui successivement nous sont survenus chacun an".¹⁶⁷ Without the personal enthusiasm of the founder it is doubtful whether the order would have survived as long as it did, albeit in a desultory fashion.

The financial backing of the founder was also crucial. The brunt of the financial responsibilities of the order fell on René's shoulders. In September 1451 he undertook to maintain the order and defray its expenses so that it should endure "a tous jours - mais et perpetuellement". The obligation to "faire payer et continuer les gages desdits Officiers dudit Ordre, avec les frais, mises et autres quelconques despences pour ce necessaires et convenables", was made also by his son Jean who promised to have his own son Nicholas engage to do the same when he was of an age to do so.¹⁶⁸ As well as the continual outlay involved in paying for the masses of the order in the cathedral, many other

incidental expenses appear in the household accounts - the cost of binding the statutes in velvet for sending to Francesco Sforza, for example, or a set of cloth of gold vestments for use on the 22nd September.¹⁶⁹ At the council of 30 September 1450, René, in the face of a general unwillingness of the members to pay both an offering and for a candle at the offertory, promised to provide the velvet covering for the Senator's chair bearing his coat of arms, as well as the expenses involved in the memorial service and the mass on the feast day itself.¹⁷⁰ René's death in 1480 deprived the order of its principal enthusiast and financial backer, the linchpin without whom the Crescent could and did not survive.

René's pre-occupation with status was not restricted to the prerogatives of his own rank. The same hierarchic and aristocratic perceptions which suffuse his Livre des Tournois, permeate the Crescent statutes. In the Livre des Tournois he is more interested in the ceremonial, decor, heraldry and costumes of the event than a blow-by-blow description of the combats themselves. Likewise the order of ceremony to be followed at the annual assembly, the masses to be performed and the dress regulations, account for nearly one quarter of the statutes and are set down with the same meticulous attention to detail.¹⁷¹

Whatever their theoretical equality within the order, the rank of each individual member was made visually manifest in the order's ceremonial dress. While the Golden Fleece and other orders imposed a single dress standard for all members be they knights or esquires, the Crescent introduced a tripartite

differentiation. The knights could wear cloaks of crimson velvet lined with "lettice", a type of white fur, or miniver. Esquires had recourse to crimson satin lined with miniver. An unusual exception was made in the case of Guillaume de la Jumelière who, because of certain unexplained "couroux et déplaisance", had sworn never to wear silk and was therefore allowed to wear the less expensive "ecarlante", a type of fine red cloth.¹⁷² Princes, however, in recognition of their superior status, were allowed crimson velvet lined with costly ermine. As René and his heir, Jean de Calabre, were the only members entitled to wear ermine, their special position within the order was once again made conspicuous on this very public occasion.¹⁷³

The wearing of the formal cloak was obligatory on the feast day, including the formal feast, at which it was not to be removed. The outfit was completed by a black velvet hat edged with gold thread and a gold or silver sun, the precise significance of which is unclear.¹⁷⁴ Each member was expected to provide these himself though on two occasions at least, René gifted them as a sign of his particular favour - a crimson velvet cloak for the knight, Guy de Laval, and a crimson satin one to the esquire Gilles de Mailles.¹⁷⁵ Valuable items in themselves, the cloaks were to be deposited on the death of each member with the Treasurer whose duty it was to have them made into vestments for the chaplains of the order. Guillaume de la Jumelière's was the first to be deposited with the cathedral in 1457, but it was only in 1469 that the chapter paid an embroiderer to work the material in gold.¹⁷⁶ Throughout the succeeding decade the

cathedral register records the chapter's attempts to recuperate these cloaks. In 1470 Hugues de Vienne and Guillaume Tourneville, the two chaplains responsible for the daily masses of the order, were dispatched to discuss the problem with René. But by 11 September 1476, still only five cloaks had been received although 18 members are noted as having died by that date. Jean Cossa had wished to deposit his with the chapter for safekeeping during his lifetime, but, for unspecified reasons, this had been removed from the house of the treasurer, Benjamin Le Roy, by the Mayor of Angers.¹⁷⁷ The increasing problems of the chapter in enforcing the statutes and claiming their due as regarded the cloaks of the members and the payments for the upkeep of the masses, can only be understood as symptomatic of the disintegration of the order in the decade of René's twilight years in Provence, compounded by the dispersal of its members in Provence, Italy, Lorraine and the Barrois.

The statutes obliged all members to attend the annual assembly of the order in September or to send a proxy. In September 1452 Thierry de Lenoncourt, struck down by illness, appointed Louis de Bournon, *sg^r* de Couldray to stand in for him to elect a new Senator.¹⁷⁸ The three days involved were clearly a high point in the order's calendar - the focus of its ceremonial and religious activities. Elaborately described as they are, the rituals of the Crescent were drawn in their essentials from the Burgundian Golden Fleece - vespers the evening before, the "Grand Messe" and the banquet in honour of Saint Maurice on his feast day followed by vespers and a

solemn requiem mass the next day. The stately procession to and from the cathedral was the most public part of the proceedings. Involving all the officers and members, it was a heraldic display of great visual impact. Like the Golden Fleece, the members, preceded by the officers of the Crescent including the "greffier" or clerk bearing the "ceremonies de lordre", filed into the church "assez bellement", according to their entry into the order rather than their lineage - "et ceulx qui sont derrains entrez en icelui ordre yront les premiers et le plus ancien entre oudit ordre sera a la destre".

At the religious services and the banquet, the Senator assumed centre stage. According to the statutes he will have "prerogative et preminence, quand aucune Congregation ou Assemblée desdits Chevaliers et Escuyers se fera daller tout seul derrier". While the others marched in pairs, he walked alone at the rear preceded by Los, King-at-Arms, in deference to his authority. In the cathedral the others sat on benches¹⁷⁹ while he sat on a raised dais and a special chair surrounded by the officers. Ordinary members were to remain standing while he was at prayer, and he took precedence in offering up the candle at the offertory and in receiving the Pax. At the formal banquet, he sat apart and before his companions, the King at Arms seated at a table placed before him.

The early meetings of the council reveal the concern of the members to establish a correct procedure. Given the length of the instructions relating to the order of ceremony, it is not surprising that very quickly there was found a need for

a more succinct version. At the council held on 27 September 1452 it was decided to make a summary of all the ritual involved over the three days, these to be read to the members before going in to vespers.¹⁸⁰ If pedantic in its concern for the niceties of procedure, the positioning of the coats of arms and their crests in the cathedral,¹⁸¹ or the distance between the embroidered coats of arms on each seat, for example,¹⁸² the Crescent was not entirely out of the ordinary. For all orders the general assembly was an affirmation of the bonds of fraternity within the membership and an occasion to parade the exclusivity of the order before an awestruck public. To this end the whole panoply of heraldic imagery was employed. The Crescent was only unusual in the step-by-step description, not in the choice or manner of its ceremonies.

The Crescent has been dubbed "the aristocratic equivalent of the bourgeois confrérie" unusual among its contemporaries, for its stress on the religious duties of its members.¹⁸³ One historian has gone as far as to call it the heir to oriental esotericism wherein René "prépare bien la spiritualité de la Renaissance".¹⁸⁴ More recently Boulton has qualified these views, classifying it as a "princely confraternal order", that is a "devotional confraternity ... [where] ... the chief office was elective rather than hereditary" but "associated more or less closely with the court or dynasty of the founder".¹⁸⁵

All secular orders of chivalry were a fusion of contradictory elements - the fraternal and egalitarian with the aristocratic and elitist, the chivalric and honorific with the religious and devotional. The precise blend varied from order to order. The

statutes of the Collar for example focussed almost exclusively on the post mortem obligations of the companions. Many of these elements were drawn from the lay devotional confraternities - elected membership, the cult of the patron saint, the elaborate celebration of his annual feast, an attachment to a particular cathedral chapter and the holding of obsequies there for departed companions. The terminology current in these confraternities was easily transposed into the chivalric orders whose members were accustomed to the idea of an international brotherhood of chivalry. The Collar knights are consistently referred to as "freres et compaignons", while the preamble to the Golden Fleece describes the order as a "fraternité de chevalerie ou aimable compaignie". The Crescent, however, uses these terms sparingly. The members are exhorted to love each other "en toute amour et dilection fraternelle" but are usually designated "chevaliers et escuyers", consistent with the Crescent's "unfraternal" gradations imposed elsewhere in the statutes.

The devotional duties imposed by the statutes were perhaps unusual among fifteenth century orders, but not without precedent. The "chapistres espiritueulz" of the Sicilian Order of the Ship founded by Carlo Durazzo in 1381, and whose statutes René may well have inspected during his stay in Naples, prescribed similar religious obligations to those of the Crescent - for example, the saying of the Office of Our Lady and hearing mass each day with a penalty for failure to do so - standing for dinner and supper on that day and foregoing wine in the case of the latter.¹⁸⁶ If the Crescent knights did not know the Our Lady they could replace

it with 15 Pater Nosters and 15 Ave Marias - a significantly lighter burden than the daily 100 Pater Nosters and Ave Marias imposed by the Ship on its illiterate members. The duties of the Crescent knights were summarised in the first two lines of a 6-line aide-memoire of the "sermens de lordre":

"La messe ouir ou pour dieu tant donner
Dire de notre dame ou menger droit ce jour".¹⁸⁷

The daily religious observances demanded by the statutes were a constant, if burdensome, reminder of membership.

One of the principal benefits of membership in an order, was the obligation of all to provide masses on the death of a companion. This featured particularly strongly in the Collar where each member was to have 100 masses said. Having only 15 members meant that comparatively more masses were required to be said by each. In the case of the Crescent, which set its target at 50 members, only 30 requiem masses were to be held within a year of hearing of the demise of a companion. This was still considerably more than the Golden Fleece, where only 15 masses were to be provided.¹⁸⁸ In addition, an especially solemn Requiem Mass was held by the assembled order on 23 September of each year, for which the formal red cloaks were replaced by sombre black mourning robes. The shield and crest of the deceased were offered up and attached to the wall behind the altar. In council it was agreed that on the death of a father, mother, wife, eldest brother or uncle, a companion need not attend the assembly until after 40 days had passed, but should he wish to do so, he should wear a "manteau noir long de Viduite (widowhood) et un petit chapperon a courte cornecte (a hat with a short liripipe)".¹⁸⁹

Medieval chivalric treatises extolled the devotional duties and christian virtues necessary to the perfect knight as much as the "chivalric" virtues of courtesy, loyalty, truth, honour and valour. The Crescent, accordingly, demanded both a religious and a moral discipline from its members. The honour and profit of both body and soul were, therefore, to be nurtured by charitable acts - providing aid to widows and orphans, showing pity on the "pauvre peuple commung". Lull's immensely popular Libre del ordre de Cavalayria stressed that "thoffyce of a knight is to mayntene and deffende wymmen, wydowes and orphanes"¹⁹⁰ and we have already seen how this may have been one of the duties of the early Collar. In the Crescent additional charitable acts were particularly extended to ones fellow companions - their widows and children up to the age of 14 were to be helped financially, or legally in the case of disinheritance, the ransoms of those imprisoned paid, and visits made to those in prison or ill. These unusual clauses are more comprehensible in the light of René's own experiences as a ransomed prisoner in the hands of the duke of Burgundy.

"Honour was the shrine at which the knight worshipped",¹⁹¹ and was a virtue prized by the Crescent. The Crescent knight was to accrue honour for himself and the order by his deportment and his actions. The statutes exhort him to be courteous in word and deed, thinking before speaking to avoid telling lies, eschewing dishonest company and conversations and not bearing any grudges unless a matter of honour is involved. In a perfunctory nod in the direction of "courteisie" he is to

refrain from speaking ill of women whatever their status. But honour is to be won primarily by good deeds and prowess whereby their "praise and renown (los et fame) will be ever on the increase from good to better". As a spur to their performance, these good deeds are to be inscribed in the "Livre des Cronicques de L'Ordre", "pour y perpetuelle memoire". By the fifteenth century it was common practice for heralds to record the heroics of tournament or battlefield. Froissart acknowledged the use of their reports in the compilation of his chronicle.¹⁹² At the "Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon" in 1446, two King at Arms, leading the procession to the lists, bore their cartularies or "Livres d'honneur et de Noblesse" before them.¹⁹³ A year previously René had dispatched 5 "minstrels" to England at the time of his daughter's arrival in England "to make a report thereof abroad".¹⁹⁴ Both René's Sicilian precedents, the orders of the Knot and the Ship had maintained similar chronicles, the latter, two. It was the task of the King at Arms, Los, to enquire into and report the prowess of the knights to the "greffier" who then enregistered them. In 1450 René suggested that the writing up should be left to the chaplains of St Maurice, but it was decided by council that as the Roy d'Armes had already begun to set them down and should continue to do so "bien loyaument et veritablement". Two years later, the procedure was slightly amended. Now, the Maître des Requêtes together with the King at Arms, were to make inquiry "secretly" (i.e. privately) with the members and other witnesses into the "vaillances es armes", and if any problem arose they could interrogate the individual on oath to establish the truth.¹⁹⁵

The maintenance of the honour of the order required the constant vigilance of each member and machinery for the disciplining or ejection of miscreants. The members were to report any dishonour, crime or evil. This would be discussed in private "so that no-one else alive may know of it except themselves". The Senator advised on a suitable punishment which the knight was to bear "benignement et doucement" though if he objected the matter could be brought before the council. It was the Senator's task to interrogate each person in turn at the annual chapter and then their fellows to find out if they have "heard, seen or know of ... anything contrary to the honour, renown or status of noblesse, or contrary to the Statutes and Ordonnances of the Order". On a report being made, the wrongdoer was approached by the Senator and two or three others whose task was to prevail upon him to "correct his vices and improve his virtues ... and take steps so that in the future these things do not happen again". At the same time, as many members lived a long distance away, and it was difficult for the Senator to know about their vices and virtues, these were enjoined to live virtuously and "user leurs vies en bonnes meurs et conversations d'honneur et de bonne renommée".

Some crimes were so heinous that they merited the extreme punishment of expulsion from the order. Five such crimes were involved:- heresy, treason, cowardice in the face of battle and in the presence of their Sovereign Lord and with banners unfurled, ignominious defeat in battle and bearing arms against their Sovereign Lord. Similar criteria held for exclusion from

the tournament in the Livres des Tournois.

There is no surviving evidence of any member ever having been expelled from the Crescent but on two occasions this action would have been warranted. Jacopo Antonio Marcello of Venice became a member of the Crescent on 26 August 1449. Marcello had held the office of "praefectura maritima" at Naples under the Angevins and during his time in Italy, René had built up a friendship with this learned humanist. On his return to France the two exchanged correspondence. In February 1448, Francesco Sforza wrote to René advising him to use the "puissant credit" of Marcello in Venice, for he "loves you very much and would like to see you restored to Naples".¹⁹⁶ In the meantime, he, Sforza, would plead the justice of René's cause in Naples, with both Venice and Florence. The year 1452 saw René backed by Charles VII in league, through the tergiversations of Italian state politics, with Sforza and Florence against Venice, with Marcello, as "Provisor exercitus", or captain, of the republic. René's Italian campaign for which he had held such high hopes, was an abysmal failure. Marcello and René were never actually brought face to face on the field of battle, however the possibility that this might occur resulted in an unusual gift from Marcello, received just prior to René's descent into Italy. The Life of St Maurice ("Passio Mauritii et sociorum ejus") containing a number of illuminations by Mantegna including Marcello himself with the badge of the crescent tucked under his left arm. Beneath this portrait was written a cryptic coded message addressed to Jean Cossa, whose meaning has been deciphered as, "If my hopes do not deceive me, You, Cossa, will not make my country ungrateful to you".¹⁹⁷ The gift of the

manuscript may be construed as an overt bribe to persuade René, through Cossa, to desist from attacking Venice. Whatever Marcello's precise intentions, it is clear he felt his loyalties divided.

The second example emerges yet again from the Italian arena. The death of Alfonso of Aragon left the throne of Naples in the hands of his illegitimate son Ferdinand. Pope Pius II upheld his claim and refused to recognise that of René, whereupon Jean de Calabre descended into Italy with an army. After initial success at the battle of Sarno in 1460, the campaign ended in disaster for the Angevins two years later, at Troia. Francesco Sforza bound doubly in honour to aid Jean de Calabre, firstly as a knight of the Crescent and secondly as a member of the Italian league with Florence and Venice, had, notwithstanding, sent troops to aid Ferdinand's army against the French. This duplicity did not lie heavily on Sforza's conscience. A letter written to the duke during the 1452-3 campaign suggests that he held his obligations to the order lightly. The letter is from Angelo Simonetta who has been detailed to accompany René and his troops. Relations between the Milanese and the French are strained and Simonetta notes:

"I would remind and encourage your Lordship to show greater honour to the Crescent, given to you by his Majesty the King, than you have done in the past, and that you wear it on the feast days at least: and make an effort to bear yourself gratefully and sympathetically towards those of his barons who are members". 198

While the grounds for expulsion were spelled out in the statutes, the criteria for admission were by comparison, limited. The first article states that the order was to be composed of Dukes, Princes, Marquises, Counts, Viscounts and those descended from

the "ancienne chevalerie" bearing 4 quarters of nobility. As such, they were to be untainted by any "vilain cas de reproche". If "any Prince, Baron or other, wishes to join and this would be to the good, honour and augmentation of the order", the Senator with a quorum of 10 companions may receive him if they are certain that no absent member would have any objections. In 1462, André de Haraucourt was admitted into the Crescent because of "les grans biens louables et recommandables fais et vertuz dont sa personne est aournee" and his "sens discrecion honneur noblesse et bonne preudommie".¹⁹⁹ The Crescent statutes contain significantly fewer directions on the election procedure than the Golden Fleece with its precise instructions, but the minutes of the council meetings make clear that the vetting of a new candidate was no less rigorous for that. Jean Amenart, sire de Chanzé, approached Guy de Laval with his desire to join the order, but when this was brought up at the meeting in December 1450 only five members were present and Jean Cossa, the senator, was also absent. It was decided that no decision could be taken without a General Assembly.²⁰⁰

A more problematic case was the candidacy of the seigneur de Montjean, raised at the meeting of 29 September 1450. The objection had been made that he had taken the side of the Dauphin against Charles VII and had accompanied the Duke of Alençon to Niort to meet up with Louis. Montjean, through Louis de Beauvau, protested that he had been ignorant of the purpose of the journey. The council deferred decision until Guy de Laval had approached Charles VII and asked him "in general

terms", whether it was a "cas de reproches", for a knight to have been in the Dauphin's party against the King. Montjean was refused, a clear indication of the careful consideration given to a decision which could have had serious political repercussions.²⁰¹

Unlike the Collar, the Crescent had its full complement of officers, elected by the members and held for life. The offices of Chaplain, Chancellor, Maître des Requêtes, Treasurer, Greffier, King-at-Arms and Poursuivant were obviously modelled on their counterparts in the Golden Fleece. Only a few of the names of the office holders have survived. Antoine Ferrier, bishop of Orange was in charge of the royal chapel and was Chaplain and confessor to the order until his death in 1454, with the responsibility of celebrating a weekly mass. Charles de Castillon, baron of Aubagne and seigneur of Roquefort, was the first Chancellor, remaining so until his death in 1461, when he was replaced by Jean Breslay. The Chancellor was responsible for guard of the Great Seal of the Order. When Breslay died in 1473 it would appear that no successor was appointed as the latter's son René, deposited the seal matrix in the archives at Angers.²⁰² The Maître des Requêtes collected and kept in order the supplications presented to the Crescent while the Treasurer was responsible for the control of its income and expenditure - the "Recepte, Fondation et Dotation qui se feront en iceluy Ordre et aussi les dons, des augmentations et bienfaits d'iceluy". Etienne Bernard was appointed first Treasurer in 1450 though before he was allowed to take office he had to close and submit his accounts as Treasurer of Anjou.²⁰³ By 1457 this office was in the hands of Pierre le Roy dit Benjamin.²⁰⁴

The "greffier" or clerk, took charge of the privy seal, wrote up the chronicles of the good deeds of the order as well as the minutes of the council meetings. Additional duties included the making of 10 or 12 small parchment booklets containing the "sermens" of the Crescent, to be passed out to the members. In September 1452 it was felt by some that the title "greffier", "doesn't sound so good, nor is it as honourable, as to say secretary", but as "greffier" was the name given in the statutes it was decided to leave it as such.²⁰⁵

The heraldic functions of the order were performed by a King at Arms, "Los", and a Poursuivant, "Croissant", whose duties were ceremonial and diplomatic. René, sire de Houssay appears as the only "Los", during the years 1449-54,²⁰⁶ but "Croissant", frequently involved in the routine business of the order in the 1450s, reappears in the 1470s as caretaker of the castle at Angers.²⁰⁷ He makes his last appearance at the funeral of René in October 1481 wearing a coat of arms in crimson velvet on which were the arms of St Maurice. Like the other officers, their service to the order ran concurrently with service in the royal household and administration, and as holds true for the membership of the order, they were almost exclusively Angevin.

René shared the problem of governing diverse and far-flung territories with Burgundy and Savoy, yet while happy to imitate the statutes of the Golden Fleece in many respects, the unity and loyalty of his vassals was not a prime consideration in his foundation of an order, as it had been for Philip the Good. The members of the Crescent had proven their loyalty to his person or

his cause on numerous occasions. Established at a critical crossroads in René's career, the order looks Janus-like backwards, rewarding those who had shared his vicissitudes up to that date, and simultaneously forwards in the hope of continued service in pursuit of his reawakened Italian aspirations.²⁰⁸

Drawn from all ranks of the nobility, representing all the Angevin dominions - Anjou and Maine, Provence, Bar and Lorraine and Naples - the seventy or so known members of the Crescent shared the common denominator of René d'Anjou, forming a series of concentric circles radiating out from his person. At the centre was the royal family represented by René, his brother Charles du Maine and his son Jean de Calabre, his son-in-law Ferry de Vaudemont and his brother Jean. Membership was restricted to those of his family with a direct involvement in the policies and government of his dominions. Hence, neither his brother-in-law, Charles VII, his son-in-law Henry VI, nor his nephew, Louis XI, who conferred upon him his own order of St Michael, were ever invited to join. This core group furnished three of the seven known Senators. The remaining four - Guy de Laval, Jean Cossa, Louis and Bertrand de Beauvau - belonged to a select inner circle of René's intimates and most trusted advisers who held the most important offices. With the exception of Cossa, they were, like the other members of this charmed elite - e.g. Gilles de Maille Brezé, Louis de Bournon, Louis de Clermont - almost exclusively Angevin. Just as they dominated René's entourage and his favours, so the Angevins outnumbered their companions from Lorraine or Bar or Provence in the Crescent. They came from

families with a long tradition of service to the princes of Anjou and were well rewarded. The career of Louis de Beauvau, first knight of the Crescent and 4th Senator, is instructive if exceptional.²⁰⁹ Louis' father Pierre, seigneur de La Roche sur Yon had served Louis III in Naples on campaign and as Governor of Calabria in 1427. On his return to France he was made Lieutenant-General, Vice-Roy and Governor of Provence. Louis likewise campaigned in Naples in the 1430s, lending René frequent sums of money and returning to Anjou in 1442 he assumed the office of Seneschal. That year he fought the English under the leadership of the Duke of Alençon and in 1449-50 took part in the Normandy campaign. However, most of the decade was spent consistently with René as his councillor and premier chamberlain, Captain of the Guard and Captain of Angers. Louis, inheriting the literary interests of his father, composed his own rather uninspiring poem to celebrate the "Pas de la Pastourelle" held at Tarascon in 1449. In 1451 he accompanied René to Guyenne and to Lombardy in 1453. In 1458 four years before his death, he was named Great Seneschal of Provence. Piponnier names him as one of the 6 most frequent recipients of gifts of clothing during the period 1447-9 and 1401-4, alongside Pierre de Meuillon, Jean Cossa, Louis de Clermont, Tanneguy du Chastel and Guy de Laval, all members of the Crescent.²¹⁰ This group were among the first to enter the order and were also the most assiduous attenders of the council meetings.²¹¹

Thirty men were elected before the end of 1452. They shared the characteristics of conspicuous service (military or administrative), unswerving loyalty, high rank or a close personal friendship with

the King. Many were of an age with him, were his companions in arms, undertook his most delicate diplomatic missions, wore his colours at tournaments and shared his literary or artistic interests. Nobles from Lorraine and Bar formed the next largest grouping. Vassals of René as Duke of Lorraine and Bar, their allegiance was primarily a personal one rather than to the Angevin cause. They represented the most prominent feudal clans - the Lenoncourt, Haraucourt and Ligniville, known collectively, with the Chatelet, as the "four great horses of Lorraine". With fellow Crescent knights, Jean count of Nassau and Jean count of Salm, they had campaigned against Anthoine de Vaudemont in the wars leading to the debacle of Bulgneville. When René became Duke of Anjou in 1434 a number continued to serve him in Naples and Anjou, for example the brothers Thierry de Lenoncourt, bailli de Vitry and chamberlain, and Philippe "grant escuier d'escuierie". Philippe, an avid jouster, made frequent appearances at the tournaments of the 1440s, including Nancy in 1445 where he attracted the attention of the chronicler Leseur who called him "ung tres gentil jouxteur et ung bon et asseure coureur".²¹² Hardouin de la Jaille, a member of Isabel de Lorraine's household evidently shared René's enthusiasms, writing his own treatise on duels - "Formulaire des Gaiges de Bataille" - dedicated to his grandson.²¹³

During the 1440s René began to loosen his links with Bar and Lorraine, devolving their government to his son Jean as Lieutenant-General in 1445,²¹⁴ and Lorraine passing to him after his mother's death in 1453. The limited number of Crescent knights

from these territories may perhaps be accredited to René's waning interests in the area. No such explanation can account for the paucity of René's Provençal vassals, though they numbered among his most devoted servants with a vested interest in his success. In many respects, the relationship between Anjou and Provence at this period resembles that of Savoy and Piedmont, Provence contributing significantly to the health of the Angevin purse, yet underrepresented at court and in the administration. Of the seven Grand Seneschals or Governors of Provence appointed between 1429 and 1480, only Jean Cossa, the dispossessed Neapolitan with considerable lands in Provence, had any claim to be Provençal. Those Provençal nobles who became Crescent knights had, thus, exceptional records of service to the Angevins. The Agoult had served Joanna of Naples before her appointed heirs the dukes of Anjou.²¹⁵ Foulques III d'Agoult, surnamed "le Grand" or "L'Illustre", seigneur of Mison and "viguier" of Marseilles, served first as chamberlain to René and then to Jean de Calabre. The support of his uncle, Foulques II, seneschal of Provence (1376-85) had been crucial in enabling the dynasty to establish itself in Provence. Foulques III took part in the "Pas de la Pastourelle" or "Bergere" at Tarascon, but like his Crescent companions, Helyon de Glandèves and his son Pierre, never constituted part of the favoured circle of René's entourage. Helyon, seigneur de Faulcon, known as the "chevalier sans reproche" had demonstrated the "Temerite et fierte de Glandevez" at Louis III's siege of Naples in 1423. Both he and his son were chamberlains to the king but they are the only members of their family to have served in his household.²¹⁶

The Italian members of the Crescent are perhaps the most interesting. Limited in number, they fall into two groups, those we may call the "adopted Angevins" having lost or abandoned their direct connections with Italy, and secondly, the true "foreigners", Francesco Sforza, Marcello and Jacomo di Pazzi. The "adopted Angevins" had often made the greatest sacrifices because of their support of the dukes of Anjou. Jean Cossa, baron of Grimaldi and count of Troya was descended from an illustrious noble family who had held high office under Joanna II of Naples.²¹⁷ During the wars of the 1430s, Alfonso had confiscated his property. In recompense René granted him the barony of Grimaldi and the lands of Marignane and Gignac in Provence. In a letter to Ferry de Vaudemont, Cossa itemised the many personal sacrifices he had made. At Naples in 1438 he had "served them (René and his family) in war and peace, at my own expense both as a soldier and a courtier without desiring any payment ... and I resolved never to abandon the King... [and] ... even though Alfonso wished to return my lands, as there was no other lord of equal reputation in the whole kingdom, nevertheless .. I abandoned all to live with my prince". Cossa became one of René's most useful diplomats, sent to Lyon for discussions on the Schism in 1447, to Rome the next year and to Venice in 1453 to sue for peace. His son Gaspard, who joined the household as a squire and cupbearer was also a member of the Crescent, rising to be the king's councillor and chamberlain in the 1470s.²¹⁸ The Valori, originally of Florence, had also successfully penetrated the inner circle of courtiers. As Florentine Guelfs they had been expelled from the city and

had fled to Naples in 1368 where they embraced the cause of Louis I of Anjou wholeheartedly, returning to France with him in 1399. Barthelemy, duke of Gaieta and Marquis of Lecce was maitre d'hotel to Yolande before becoming Governor of Anjou. His son, Gabriel, grew up with René at Angers and followed him to Naples in 1438.²¹⁹

The Crescent's "foreign" members were linked in sharing René's friendship and were contacts cultivated by him as useful points d'appui for his forthcoming campaign. Of these Francesco Sforza was the most eminent. René had engaged his services in 1441 promising the office of Grand Constable of Sicily and appointing him as "maestro portulanato del reame".²²⁰ The two maintained a flow of correspondence and Sforza, once Duke of Milan, was a major, if cynical, supporter of Angevin pretensions in Sicily. The initial impetus to renewed activity came, however, from Florence, which at the end of 1447, dispatched Antonio de Pazzi to Marseilles to assure René of the support of the republic.²²¹ René had made friends with the rich merchant bankers, the Pazzi, when he was passing through Florence in 1442. Jacopo or Jacques, seigneur d'Aubignon, became his maître d'hôtel and Knight of the Crescent. His sons, Michel and Alemanno, bankers in Paris, were often called upon to act as creditors for René.²²² Another Florentine, became a key figure in developments. In June 1447, a year before the foundation of the Crescent, the accounts record payment for a gold collar "a lordre du Roy" presented to an Angelo de Asseolis or Acciajuoli. Special emissary of the republic, Acciajuoli was

instrumental in effecting the league between Charles VII, Milan and Florence in 1452, a possibility he had long discussed in correspondence with Sforza.²²³

A second collar "de la devise dudit seigneur", was bestowed in 1447 on Thomassin Spinola of Genoa. The Spinola were one of Genoa's major families, serving the republic as notable consuls and ambassadors. In this latter capacity, René had met a number of members of the family and Surleone Spinola entered his own service as cupbearer. The Genoese had proven unreliable allies in the past, but their commercial and sea power could not be ignored and they might make a useful ally in the future.²²⁴ Whether the collars to Spinola and Acciajuoli were genuine precursors of the Crescent is unclear. René was not in the habit of distributing livery collars. However, his choice of recipients is illuminating. By counting on past affections and bonds of friendship, in bestowing his collar, he hoped to be able to count on powerful voices speaking in his favour - Sforza in Milan, Marcello in Venice, the Pazzi and Acciajuoli in Florence and the Spinola in Genoa. What René failed to understand, was the imbalance in the relationship - the fact that he had a greater need of their services, than they had of him.

The Italian campaign of Jean de Calabre, 1459-1462 saw the distribution of the order on a wide scale and an overtly political manner. Desperate to ensure the loyalty of the Neapolitan aristocracy, Jean used the Crescent in much the same manner as Charles of Orléans in the 1430s and 1440s. Some 22 names are recorded, including Georges d'Alamania, count of Pulcino, who had served René in the 1430s, five members of the Carracciolo,

including Othon, chancellor of the kingdom of Sicily, who had followed René to Provence in 1442, though Alfonso was to pardon many of them later in the year, and Robert of St Severino, count of Marsico.²²⁵ Ferdinand, Alfonso's successor lured away the latter to his side and St Severino approached the pope to be released from his oath. The "Cronica del Regno di Napoli" commented: "That same year Robert of St Severino ... likewise made agreement and the king [Ferdinand] made him prince of Salerno and so he broke faith with the duke Jean, whose brother he had been" (si roppe la fede al duca Joanne, con loquale se era fatto fratre ...).²²⁶ Pius II, antipathetic towards the French, attempted to suppress the order in 1460, though this does not seem to have reached the stage of a papal bull; and the Crescent continued in desultory fashion until its founder's death. His intentions however highlight the growing awareness among contemporaries of the political uses of the chivalric orders.

The foundation of the Crescent in the midst of a decade of unprecedented chivalric display at the Angevin court, has deflected the attention of historians from the true nature of the order. The 1440s were a period of high profile and optimism for René when, at the French court, he cultivated the friendship of his brother-in-law Charles VII, who made him particularly welcome as he "was a pleasure-loving prince, who had in his retinue only men of wit and leisure".²²⁷ René's knowledge of ritual and ceremonial, and their potential as a means of affirming his status, were honed in a series of

spectacular Pas d'Armes at Tarascon, Nancy and Saumur, organised to the letter and the pageantry attendant upon his daughter's "fiancailles" and marriage in 1445. Lessons learnt there were exhibited in the Crescent statutes and in the Livre des Tournois. Their importance as a means of giving visual expression to loyal service and chivalric honour should not be underestimated or trivialised.

The loyalty of his vassals was not, however, a prime consideration in the foundation of the order. In no sense an extended retinue, the membership of the Crescent was drawn almost solidly, with the notable exceptions being the Italians, from a coterie of most favoured courtiers, binding them into an even more exclusive relationship with him. Assured of their devotion, little provision was made for the regulation of internal disputes, and in deference to their mutual friendship the order set great store by its manifestly fraternal exactions. As a coalition then, of René's servants, friends and allies, the Crescent had the unexpressed though underlying aim, of acting as the spearhead of a renewed Italian campaign.

The approaches of interested Italian states in the years 1447 and 1448 had been the mainspring of the order's foundation. Yet the close association of the order with this Italian policy, proved ultimately its undoing. With the failure of the Lombard campaign and the onset of disillusionment, reinforced by the defeat of 1462, the Crescent lost its pre-1454 vigour. René who valued the concepts of honour and loyalty, was misguided in extending his order to include the Italians and believing that all held by the same code.

The 1470s witnessed the falling numbers of the Crescent as death cut a swathe through its membership - Jean de Calabre, Ferry de Vaudemont, Tanneguy du Chastel, René de Glandèves, Pierre de Meuillion among others. Unlike the Collar, the Crescent was so bound up with the personality of its founder that on his death in 1480, compounded by the problems of the succession, the order was not independent enough to survive.

The Porcupine, Collar and Crescent demonstrate the wide spectrum of styles of chivalric order ranging from the selective "devise" type, regarded by contemporaries and founders alike (if not Olivier de La Marche) as orders, to the grant scale and fully formulated ones. But it is possible to isolate certain variables affecting the final format. Firstly, there was the importance of precedent. The fraternal bonds of the Black Swan were to some extent replicated in the subsequent Collar, while the initial idea for the Crescent may have been inspired in part by its dynastic predecessor, the Order of the Cross, and the more recent Barrois, "Association du Levrier Blanc". In the absence of, or in tandem with, these precedents, contemporary orders naturally exerted a strong influence, either as prototypes ("his order has increased his prestige, retinue etc., maybe one could do the same for me") or through an element of competition or rivalry ("he's got one, therefore I must have one"). Fashion, too, might be a powerful consideration. Louis d'Orléans Porcupine was one of a number of similar "devise" type orders (or what Boulton would call "pseudo-orders") emerging in the late fourteenth century among the cluster of magnatial households which gravitated around the royal court in Paris.

The foundation of an order was also one response of a prince to his perceived needs or problems. There may be a precise or immediate goal involved - an impending crusade in the case of the Collar, or the renewed campaign in Italy for the Crescent. Alternatively the aspirations may be more long term in nature - the unification of the nobility of diverse dominions behind the leadership of the count then duke of Savoy, in 1409 for example. All three orders shared certain common aims. They hoped to encourage loyalty, confer honour and reward service, but also, the foundation was designed to add lustre to their reputation. For René d'Anjou an order of chivalry was an essential attribute of his court if he was to impress on all his status as king. In Savoy, the internal politics and the recent assimilation of territories which had long resisted the encroachment of the count's hegemony, required a means to lure the support of the nobility to the side of Amédée VIII and accept his authority.

The most fundamental factor, however, was the prince himself. Just as his personality shaped the ambiance of his court, so the fortunes of the order were inextricably linked with his persona. Orders on the scale of the Collar and the Crescent, in particular, demanded, first of all, a considerable financial commitment, a fact appreciated by René d'Anjou who issued a formal undertaking to do so, on behalf of himself and his heirs. The upkeep of a religious foundation, masses, assemblies and the payment of officers, was outwith the means of many courts. An easier option, perhaps, was the earlier Porcupine which involved the dukes of Orléans in minimal expenditure and even less in the

way of responsibilities and obligations. Financial considerations may have deterred the impecunious Charles d'Orléans from setting the Camail on a more formal footing in the 1440s. However, for all the expense of maintaining an order, it was a cheaper means of honouring and rewarding service than many other forms of patronage.

An even more telling factor in the success and eventual continuation of an order was the enthusiasm and energy of the prince. The neglect of the Collar by Amédée VII seemed scarcely propitious for a revival in 1409, just as its quiescence in the late fifteenth century might have heralded its total disappearance. The initial enthusiasm of Amédée VI fizzled out once he and the first founder members had returned from crusade. In a similar fashion, once the major motivating cause of the creation of the Crescent had ceased to have any political moment, René's zeal flagged and the order's activities tailed off. Charles d'Orléans issued his collar to all and sundry in the heady days prior to his return to France, but his later career witnessed a more restrictive distribution.

While representative of the different phases of development of the institution, the Porcupine and the Crescent, at least, accurately reflect the era of their foundation. The late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were the heyday of the "devise". The absence of any significant ceremonial for the Porcupine was of less importance than the crucial visual symbolism of the collar itself, a superior sign of attachment among the run-of-the-mill liveries. Later, the ceremonial of an order, which

exalted and confirmed the self image of both prince and courtier, created the semblance of order and continuity in a world of social change. The concern shown in the Crescent for making the order of ceremony and the duties of the knights accessible in pocket sized parchment booklets and a poetic aide memoire, was a consequence of the increasing demand for guides and regulations on the correct external behaviour expected in all areas of life. Courtesy books, dance manuals, the *Ars Moriendi*, and even Rene d'Anjou's Livre des Tournois were all symptoms of the regularisation of court life.

If survival may be judged a measure of the success of an order, then it must be the Collar which should be considered as the most successful of the three orders. The more limited ambitions of the second founder ensured its endurance while the lofty aims of René d'Anjou were almost bound to be disappointed. Louis d'Orléans probably achieved some measure of satisfaction from his restricted distributions but his son Charles did not reap as extensive a harvest as his large scale bestowals might have promised. This falling-short of high ideals is a constant theme of the chivalric ethos. The secular order of chivalry was a striking example of the continued relevance of chivalric values within the late medieval court which added a rich texture to its fabric.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The court society of the fifteenth century is generally depicted as succumbing to an increasing ceremonialism and formalisation. "Court life", says Anglo, "grew intricate wherever lofty political pretensions were upheld by artistic and social buttresses".¹ Although this holds true for all three courts, Anjou, Orléans and Savoy, the pace of development in this direction, varied considerably from court to court and pivoted, to a great degree, on the personality and control of the prince. He set the prevailing tone at court, his nobility affected his lifestyle and behaviour and adopted his interests: René d'Anjou's passion for the tournament inspired works by two of his courtiers, Pierre de Beauvau and Honorat de Berre; a number of the household of Charles d'Orléans were inspired by his poetic example to attempt the same, with varying degrees of success; in Savoy, the Challant commissioned Jacopo Jacquerio, who had worked extensively for the dukes of Savoy, to adorn their own castles, while Girard du Ternier's obsequies were organised on a scale rivalling that of his master. Poirion contests, however, that, "le climat propre à chaque cour ne dépend pas uniquement du tempérament du prince, ou de l'humeur des chevaliers qui la fréquentent, mais aussi des conseillers et des serviteurs".² But also the latter, as Keen points out, "became infected by the chivalric mentality that dominated the courts in which they served",³ and, as the examples of the courts of Charles d'Orléans and René d'Anjou show, they were only too eager to be accepted into the ranks of the nobility.

This pressure from below, to share in the lifestyle and customs of the nobility, evinced in the appearance of courtesy books and other guides, produced an impelling need at the top to preserve distinctions in rank. An acute attention to the nuances of rank expressed through dress, jewellery and displayed at all forms of festivity, was felt particularly keenly at the court of Savoy, whose dukes had only just emerged from the rank of count and who were anxious to underline their new status. The sumptuary regulations of the Statuta Sabaudiae, unparalleled in France in its comprehensiveness, crystallised their determination to maintain their distinction ahead of their powerful and particularistic feudatories such as the Montmayeur or Challant. Alongside this, Amédée VIII employed a judicious use of chivalric and dynastic festival, his own personal magnificence and a calculated distribution of the Order of the Collar, thereby successfully establishing his court as the source of patronage for a nobility whose military 'raison d'être' had largely been removed by his peaceful policies.

Although court spectacle as used by Amédée VIII, was a tangible manifestation of his growing power and authority, the court of Savoy later in the century, demonstrates its use as a bluff to give the impression of a power which was self-evidently lacking. Despite the expansion of the household under Louis and Anne, and the increasing incidence of court "fêtes" swallowing up an ever greater portion of the ducal revenues, the court emerged in this period as a source of dissension rather than cohesion around the prince. The cultural successes of the late fifteenth century Savoyard court were not carried over into the political arena. If Amédée's court spectacle had often a direct political

intent, that of his successors demonstrates a loss of direction and control. Of course, magnificence at court was in itself a tacit political statement, a form of propaganda wielded by the prince to impress subjects, courtiers and visitors alike; yet indications of its more pointed political use, such as is demonstrable for the court of Burgundy, are extrapolated more rarely from the surviving evidence, - René d'Anjou's rash of tournaments in the 1440s, or Amédée VIII's dynastic ceremonies of 1416, 1424 and 1434, being more obvious examples.

While each court developed its own distinctive ambience, it is clear that the court of Burgundy had nevertheless a profound influence on the direction and development of all three, both through rivalry or emulation. The influence on the court of Anjou ran in both negative and positive directions. René's inherited antagonism to Burgundy was honed during his captivity at Dijon, a captivity which nevertheless introduced him to the Golden Fleece and to Flemish art. The ransom due to Philip the Good was initially a strain on Angevin finances, as also were the festivities of the 1440s during which René was obviously at pains to outshine his rival. René's imitation of Burgundy is seen most concretely in the Crescent, whose statutes bear the imprint of the Golden Fleece, but also in his "pas d'armes" which otherwise proliferated in the Burgundian territories. It was only once René installed himself definitively in Provence, distancing himself and his court from the royal court, the scene of the acute rivalries of the 1440s, that his own originality developed, and this in the field of art patronage rather than chivalric spectacle.

For the court of Orléans too, rivalry with the Burgundian powerblock, acted initially as a dynamic, the root of their mutually antagonistic

devices and perhaps also of the choice of the Porcupine itself. All past rivalries were forgotten when the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy were instrumental in engineering the return of Charles d'Orléans from England. Charles was pleased to accommodate Burgundians such as Guiot Pot in his household, participate in the Burgundian court festivities and become its virtual satellite. If the court at Blois was not to emulate Burgundian spectacle, imitation was manifested in other ways, in a restrictive use of the Order of the Camail, or in the black clothes made fashionable at Burgundy.

But it is the court of Savoy which bears the strongest imprint of Burgundian influence. Amédée VIII's marriage to Marie de Bourgogne initiated a new era of magnificence, a striving after a court style redolent of that found at Dijon. The household, the backbone of the court, was reorganised along Burgundian lines while, drawing on their experience of Burgundian ceremony, the duke and his wife, introduced a new emphasis on order, etiquette and formality.

All three courts shared with Burgundy a resolutely chivalric outlook. Whatever the openness of each, given their Italian connections, to new humanistic and artistic trends, particularly noticeable in the cultural fusion of the court of Anjou-Provence, these influences did not make the transition from the plastic arts and literature into the world of court spectacle. Here, the time honoured chivalric themes and images reigned supreme - "la noblesse évolue dans un decor d'images et d'idées héritées d'un passé vénérable".⁴ This in itself, is not surprising. Themes from antiquity were no more popular in Italy, where one

might expect their influence to be stronger, and whose court entertainments and tournaments were similarly suffused by Arthurian imagery. But neither was it necessarily a form of "cultural archaism", the nobility's "conservative reaction to social crisis" such as Boase posits for the Spanish nobility in the fifteenth century,⁵ which determined this attachment to chivalric symbolism. In France its relevance to the court society was still strong, and its manifestation at the tournament, or in the orders of Chivalry acted as a potent source of cohesion within this group. Chivalry, setting the aristocracy apart from the rest of society and the non noble members of the court, gave them a sense of identity with their prince. It appealed to their need to feel exclusive: its use within court spectacle pandered to their sense of superiority. All three courts demonstrate this increasing appeal to exclusion and exclusivity:- orders of chivalry were for an elite few only, while at Savoy at least, indoor entertainments naturally restrictive, predominate over the more public tournaments. One of the fine lines pursued by the prince, in his policy of court spectacle, was to ensure, that while he preserved his own authority, pre-eminence and prestige, his nobility, the most important and potentially troublesome sector of his court, while lured into dependence upon him, were nevertheless made to feel that both he and they belonged to the same chivalric brotherhood.

APPENDIX A: The Knights of the Porcupine and Camail (1398-1459)

There are only two studies of the membership of the porcupine, Bremond d'Ars Migré, Les Chevaliers du Porc Espic ou du Camail, 1394-1498 (Macon, 1938) and C. D'Orlac, "Les Chevaliers du Porc Espic ou du Camail", in Revue Historique Nobiliaire, t.3, 1867, pp. 337-350. Both are far from complete. The following list hopes to remedy this deficiency.

<u>1398</u>	Charles d'Albret	
	Jean de Bourbon	
	Jean, count of Nevers	(BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 40, 722 and BL. Add. ch. 3052)
<u>1400</u>	Guillaume le Bouteiller ¹	
	Clignet de Brebant ²	
	2 "chevaliers behaignons"	
	2 "chevaliers de bretagne"	
	Robert de Cadillac	
	Guillaume de la Champaigne ³	
	Guillaume de Colleville ⁴	
	Jehan de Coutes dit Minguet ⁵	
	Pierre de Haveskerke, sire de Rasse ⁶	
	Gadifer de la Sale ⁷	
	Almaury de Ligniers ⁸	
	Enguerrand de Marcoignet ⁹	
	Bertrand du Mesnil ¹⁰	
	Jehan de Miraumont ¹¹	
	The sire of Montaubon	
	Pierre de Mornay dit Gaulvet ¹²	
	Guyot de Renty ¹³	
	Jacques or Jacotin de Renty ¹³	
	Jean de Roussay ¹⁴	
	Jean de Tillieres ¹⁵	
	Archambaut de Villars ¹⁶	
	Robinet de Villiquier	(BN. Ms. fr. 10432/1602, 1607 and 1505: BL. Add. ch. 3088)

- 1401 Charles d'Orleans
Philippe d'Orleans (BN. Ms. fr. 10432/1567)
- 1405 Jean de la Baume, sg^r de Valussin¹⁷
Henry de Rothenberc (AN. K 57^A n^o 9²⁵ and 9²⁶)
- [H. de Bremond d'Ars-Migré adds Guion de la Genoillerie, Georges de La Palue, Catherine de Keralle and Pavrene de Vaux]
- 1414 Gervaise Achoppart¹⁸
Richart de Bellegarde¹⁹
Olivier du Liet (BL. Add. ch. 3138, 3145;
and BN. Nouv. acq. fr 20028/109)
- 1415 Hutin d'Arson²⁰
Guy de Belort²¹
Pons de Beynac
Guillaume de Champgiraut
Jean de Charny
Louis Cochet²²
"le maréchal de Hongrie"
Merot de la Roque, "escuier d'escuierie du roy"
Jehan le Margeriel dit Bobin²³
Jean de Montmirail
Jacques de Montmor²⁴
Henriet Porcel
Bertrand du Puy
Pierre du Saillant²⁵
Louis de Villars²⁶ (BL. Add. ch. 3150, 3151, 3153;
BN. Pieces orig. 383 no. 21)
- 1421 Jean, bastard of Orleans, Count of Dunois
(BL. Add. ch. 3168)
- 1435 Antoine de Montasye
Baudouin de Montasye
Geoffroy de Montasye²⁸ (BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241)

1436

Tiercelet and Ymbart d'Azay
 Flor de Basquelerot
 Jehan de Bignay (or Vignay)
 Pierre Charnier
 Charles de Chastillon²⁹
 Tiercelet Deschelles
 Anthoine des Essars³⁰
 Guiot de Giresme³¹
 Jehan Gonyon³²
 Jehan Gosselin, sg^r des Hayes
 Clignet de Grignaux
 Jean de la Boissiere
 Robert de la Boyerre
 Berthrain de la Lande
 Charlot de Mornay, sg^r de Villiers³³
 Gadister de Malleres
 Anthoine de Murvieilly
 Noel de Romalart
 Arnault de St Felix, sg^r de Monperat
 Pierre de Suonye dit Razille (BN Ms Clair. 1241)

1437

Bertrand Aisse
 Jehan and Yvonnnet de Beaulieu
 Francois de Beaumont
 Siebon du Bos³⁴
 Francois Brunelles
 Regnault de Bruyeres
 Aymeric Merigon de Castillon³⁵
 Jacques de Clermont
 Antoine de Cleves/Cluis³⁶
 Louis d'Englien
 Denis l'Enroillie
 Yvon le Forestier
 Eustache de la Houssaye
 the lord of Hut Faye and his three sons
 Pierre Jaillet, captain of Meulons

1437
contd.

Pierre de Jambes
Guillaume de Jay
Mondet de Jeugny
Mahieu de la Place
Enguerran le Ploisy
Jehan Ore
Rogerin de Poisy
Evrart de Puisieux
Pierre de Quisquart
Eustache de Rochebaron
Michel de St Felix
Estienne de Sages
Charles de Saladin
Antoine de Sarremet³⁷
Herail de Soulaiges
Guillaume Warne

(BN. Ms. Clair. 1241)

1438

Jehan Acavier, sg^r du Fié
Jehan d'Annemont
Foucault d'Archiac³⁸
Berenger d'Arpajou³⁹
Karnouin d'Astourton
Pierre d'Augy⁴⁰
Olivier d'Avoir
Flocart de Bar and his nephew the sire de Forces
Jean de la Barre⁴¹
Bertran, Dunot and Guynot du Barroy
Jehan Barnalu
Pierre Bechet
Jehan de Bersailles
the sire de Berbant
Robert de Biallec
Robert de Blargis
the sire de Bournassol
Pierre de Bon
Jean sire de Breaute
Robert de Bressay

1438
contd.

Aymart de Breze
 Pierre Brezille
 Simon Jehan de Brise
 Pierre Caillion⁴²
 Olivier de Carmery
 Antoine Champenois
 Guignot du Chastelet
 Louis Chauvel
 le Bouc de Cornillon
 Guillaume Couraut, sire de la Roche Chevreul
 the seigneur de Cousinot⁴³
 Pierre de Courguilleret
 Gautier de Cramailles⁴⁴
 Peroton des Croix
 Jehan Diebles
 Pierre le Flamont⁴⁵
 Jehan Foubert
 Pierre Garreau
 Heliot Gastereul
 Eycinnet and Jehan de Goulart
 Guillaume Guerault
 Domygon de Hance
 Richart Heleuf
 Jacque de la Brosse
 Jean de la Honneville
 the seigneur des Landes
 Giraut de la Paliere
 Antoine and Louis de Lezay
 Guillaume du Lien
 Pipon de Lieron
 Regnot de Marueil
 Fouquer de Margaial de Soissonnois
 the sire de Montbason
 Francois and Guichard de Monbron
 Louis de Montfelour
 Loys de Montigny
 the seigneur of Montmor

1438
contd.

Jehan de Montournoir
 Alain Mordelles
 Olivier de Perhove
 Jean de Pisselen⁴⁶
 Jacques, Aymer and Pelliage de Puisieux
 Henri and Foucault de Polignac
 Jehan Ponsart, seigneur de Parc
 Guillaume du Quartier
 Jehan de Ravenel⁴⁷
 Jehan de Razez
 Jehan de la Roche⁴⁸
 Foucault, Billant and Jehan de Rochechouart⁴⁹
 Fouquet de Rochefoucaut
 Penemarc Roulant
 Jehan and Guillaume de Rosnivines⁵⁰
 Pernet Ronssart
 Pierre de St Baisin
 Jean de St Martin
 Jehan de St Solier
 Girart de Somere
 Martinet de la Taille
 Beraut Toichon
 Jehan de Ton
 Morice Tournemine⁵¹
 Jehan and Germain de Vivonne, son of sire de Fors
 (BN. Ms. Clair. 1241)

1439

Jehan d'Argougen⁵²
 Olivier d'Aunoy
 "le sieur d'Aure"⁵³
 Guillaume Beauregard
 Michelet de Beauvillier⁵⁴
 Hutin Bellier
 Henry de Bois Berthelot
 Charles Bricet
 Gaspard Brunel
 Pierre de Challemaison
 Pierre Chastainier

1439
contd.

Jehan de Chasteauneuf⁵⁵
 Guillaume de Chasteaupers
 Antoine Chauveron
 Pierre de Chauveron, sg^r de Dussac
 Guillaume Chenu
 Malinet de Conde
 Girard Drac⁵⁶
 Maurignon Dyverne
 Berthaut de l'Eglantier
 "le bastart de Fontaines"⁵⁷
 Jehan de Franchelion
 Jehan Gaignon
 Guillaume de la Haye
 Roger de Herlande
 "le bastart de Heuqueville"
 Anthoine Hyrsorien⁵⁸
 Tanneguy de Joyeuse⁵⁹
 Jean de Laire⁶⁰
 Jehan de Loches
 Renauton de Madalain
 Jacques de Mailly
 Pierre de Mailly
 n. de Marinier
 Jehan de Marcilly⁶¹
 Robinet de Mathelon
 le marquis de Mauny
 Bertrand de Mornay
 Herve and Hector de Meriadec⁶²
 Guillaume de Milly⁶³
 Jehan de Miebault
 Jehan de Montaigny
 Jehan de Morieres
 Marguerite de Murat
 Jacques de la Motte
 Guillaume du Pont
 Charles le Porc and his brother
 Jehan de la Porte

1439
contd.

"le bastart de Prye"
Gilbert de Puy
Louis and Jehan du Quartier
Brian de Razine
The son of Jehan de la Roche
Herve, Loys, Estienne, Yvon and Olivier de Rosnivines
Jehan Rouy
Estienne le Roy
Guillaume de la Sale
n. de Seintre
Georges de Suly
Vautier and J. Louis de Thullieres⁶⁴
"le seigneur de Vaten"⁶⁵
Gilles de Viars
Cordelier and Raoulet de Villiers
"la femme Poton de Xantrailles" i.e. Catherine Brachet,
dame de Salignac
(BN. Ms. Clair. 1241; BN
Nouvelles Acq. fr. 3642 n^o
1360 and 1361)

1440

Philip, duke of Burgundy
Silvestre de Carne
Robert de Callac
Laurent de Lignieres
Martin Lannelle
Yvon and Olivier de Lanneon
Yvon de Lesonger
Olivier de Penhovet
Olivier de Quelen
Guillaume de Quengo
Mathe de Roleheuc
Henri de Villeblanche⁶⁶
(BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013;
BN Ms. Clair. 1241; BN.
Nouv. acq. fr. 22289; E.
de Monstrelet, t.V. p 444)

- 1441 Guyot Belon
Louis Chabot⁶⁷
Jean VI duc de Bretagne
Jean de Fauete
Jean de Pevrel, sg^r de Bennecourt (BN. Ms. Clair. 1241, Nouv. acq. fr 20013, Ms fr. 22289)
- 1442 3 sons of the sire de Belleville⁶⁸
Pierre de Bremond-d'Ars
Pierre de Chabanaïs⁶⁹
Jean Guy
Pierre de Lusignon Saint Gelais⁷⁰
Louis du Puy, sg de Couldray Monin
Jean de Rabaine
son of Jehan de la Roche (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013; Bremond d'Ars Migre pp. 27-33)
- 1443 Berault Marge (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013)
- 1444 Bertrand de Lasterie, sg^r du Saillant
Francois and Jean de Lasterie, sons of above
Jean de Rossignac⁷¹
Antoine du Roux, sg^r de Sigi⁷² (BN. Ms. fr. 22289; Ms. Clair. 1241: Nouv. acq. fr. 20013)
- 1448 Marin de Hacqueville
Anthoine de Martigne⁷³ (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013)
- 1449 Alphonse de Bernetz dit de Piemont⁷⁴
(Bremond d'Ars Migre p. 34)
- 1450 Claude de Saint Julien⁷⁵
n. de Toulengein (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013; Ms. Clair. 1241)

- | | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| <u>1451</u> | Georges de Brilhac ⁷⁶ | (BN. Pièces orig.
518 n ^o 11) |
| <u>1457</u> | Philippe de Hedonville ⁷⁷ | (BN. Pièces orig. 2159
n ^o 660) |
| <u>1459</u> | Pierre Chauvet | (BN. Pièces orig. 2160
n ^o 677) |
| n.d. | Jacques de Challant, sg ^r d'Aymaville and c ^{te} de Challant ⁷⁸ | (DUBOIS, Chronique..., p.77) |

APPENDIX B: Register of the Chapters and Councils of
The Crescent

(p.905)

Actes Arrests Conclusions faits es Conseils de L'ordre du Croissant fonde sous la Protection de Monseigneur St Maurice durant l'office de Senateur de Noble et Renomme Escuyer Jean Cossa de Naples seigneur de Grimaud Tiers senateur dudit ordre pour lannee commenceant le vingtdeuxieme Jour de septembre jour et feste dudit saint Lan mil quatre cents cinquante et finissant ledit Jour aussy aux Vespres MCCCCLI Escriptes et Registrez Iceux actes et arrets jour apres autre comme cy apres sensuit par moy jean de Charnieres Greffier dudit Ordre.

Du Conseil dudit Ordre tenu a Saulmur par Jean Cossa senateur auquel estoient le sieur de Beauvau seneschal danjou Jean Monseigneur de Lorraine le Roy de Ricile les seigneurs de Clermont de Loue de martigne Briand de Breze du couldray de Passavant et Champaigne Monsieur le Duc de Calabre et le Baillif de Vitry le xxii jour de septembre l'an dessusdit.

Par loppinion des dessusdits a este conclud et appointe que la solemnite de la Feste de Monseigneur saint Maurice prochaine advenant se tiendra au Plausir de Dieu au leglise dudit saint a Angiers.

(p.906)

Par ledit seigneur de Loue a este dict que ia pieca pour certain couroux et deplaisance que eut ledit seigneur de Martigne Il jura et voua de non jamais porter Drap de soye pour ce que par les statuts dudit Ordre il estoit dit que les Chevaliers et Escuyers d' Iceluy devoient avoir Manteaux de Drap de soye sur ce demandoit leur Conseil et advis

Les Dessusdits ont este dopinion que ceci gist fort en sa conscience et que sy il le prenoit a Cour, et Il s'en sentist charge que Il devoit porter un marteau d'Escarlate fouree de menue vair le jour de la solemnite de ladite feste et ainsy a este Conclud et appointe.

A Este faicte Ouverture par ledit Seigneur Roy et Messire Louis de Bournon Chevalier duquel la femme est allee Nouvellement de vie a Trespassement doibt porter le Manteau de Velours Cramoisie la vigille et le jour dudit Saint Maurice ou autre habit Comme Manteau Noir ou Robe Noir de viduite.

Loppinion des dessusdits a este que ledit Messire Louis de Bournon et autres dudit Ordre en cas semblable ou de mort de Pere mere frere aisne ou Oncles ne se trouveront point quarente jours apres ladite mort a la feste et assemblee sy ils ne veulent sy leur (p907) plaisir est de eux y trouver Ilz porteront manteau Noir Long de Viduite et un petit Chapperon a Courte Cornecte.

Du Conseil dudit Ordre tenu par mondit seigneur le senateur au Chastel de Saulmur ce xxix jour de septembre lan dessusdit auquel est Laisne de Beauvau Seneschal Danjou Monseigneur les seigneurs de Clermont de Loue de Breze de Martigne Briand de Passavant de Champagne Monseigneur le Duc de Calabre et le Baillif de Vitry.

Par ledit seigneur de Beauvau a este rapporte ce que il avoit trouve ave le seigneur de Monte jan touchant le different de son Election pour ce qu'on dit que Il fut avec monseigneur le Dauphin Contre le Roy lequel rapport a este que ledit de Montjean se partit de son hostel en la Compaignie de Monsieur le Duc d'Alencon pour aller a Niort ou Ils allerent et la trouverent mondit seigneur le Dauphin mais ledit seigneur de Montjean ne scavoit loccasion de leur allee et quant Il fu ca et ce sceut le cas Il fut tres deplaisant mais Il luy convint soy armer pour accompagner lesdits seigneurs allant de la a Saint Maixent.

Oye Laquelle Relation tous les dessusdits ont este d'opinion que on doit differer l'Election Jusques a Certain temps et donner sur (p908) ce Bonnes parolles audit seigneur de Montejean pendant lequel temps le sieur de Loue doit aller devers le Roy Nostre seigneur et apres autres parolles luy doit faire demande en terme Generaux Ce cestoit cas de reproches a un chevalier ou escuyer d'avoir este du Party de mondit seigneur le dauphin durant la Guerre du Roy et de luy et sa response d'uy on pourra plus seurement besongner en ladite matiere et ainsy a este Conclud et appointe et donne Charge audit de Loue de ce fait

Audit Conseil a este Conclud que le premier jour de chacun mois ou autre tel jour quil advisera se tiendra le Conseil de L'ordre au lieu ou sera ce senateur

Outre a este Conclud et appointe que quand Il adviendrait que le senateur yroit de vie a trespasement durant son annee ou allast en aucun lointain voyage que esdits Cas le senateur qui auroit este pour L'annee precedente sera en son Lieu et sy il estoit absent le plus ancien Cree audit Ordre sera substitue pour luy.

Audit conseil ont este Conclus tous les Chapitres et Ceremonies dudit Ordre selon la minute qui sur ce en a este faite laquelle a este leue en presence de tous le dessusdits

Au Conseil dudit ordre tenu audit lieu de Saulmur par Monseigneur le senateur le dernier jour dudit Mois de septembre lan dessusdit quel estoient tous les devantsdits.

(p.909)

Par le Roy a este faite Ouverture sy il seroit bon que dorenavant le senateur doive [sic] porter chacun jour le Croissant durant l'annee que il sera senateur pour ce Connoistre entre les autres dudit Ordre.

Tous les dessusdits ont este d'opinion que il nest ja besoin de absteindre celui qui sera senateur a telle servitude pour ce quil est dit par les Chapitres dudit Ordre que on le peut porter chacun jour qui veut Et pour ce que aucuns dudit Ordre faisoient difficulte de payer leurs Cierges quilz offrirent le jour de Saint Maurice a este Conclud par ladvis d'Eux tous que dorenavant a chacune feste dudit Saint Chacun desdits Chevaliers et escuyers payera son Cierge avec son offerte mais au regard du Drap pour le parement de la Charra du senateur dudit jour le Coust du service de ledite Feste et le service des morts du landemain et autres choses de despences qui sont requises a este conclud que le Roy les fera faire payer a ses despans et a este conclud que ledit drap se fera de velours ou satin Cramoisy vermeil aux armes dudit saint et ou milieu de L'Escarboucleon laissera lieu et place pour mettre chacun an les armes de celui qui sera senateur.

Par ledit seigneur Roy a este faite ouverture sy Il seroit bon de faire mettre tous les Blazons des Chevaliers et escuyers de lordre avec les timbres en aucune Eglise que on aviseroit pour fere la fondation affin quil fust memoire perpetuel dudit Ordre.

Tous les dessusditz ont este d'opinion que ainsy se doit fere et a ce (p910) dit seigneur pris charge et Commission de voir le lieu plus convenable et ldoine a ce fere et aussi d'avisier la facon et grandeur des Tableaux et en fera sa relation au prochain Conseil.

Touchant Louverture faicte par ledit seigneur de Commettre quelques chanoines ou Chappelain de L'Eglise de Saint Maurice d'angiers pour fere les Chroniques et Registrer les faictes et gestes de ceux dudit Ordre a este conclud par ladvis et deliberation de tous les dessusdits que les Roy darmes les mettra par escript bien loyaument et veritablement ainsy que ia il a commence puis en fera relation et rapport a monseigneur le senateur et autres dudit Ordre pour ces visiter et corriger.

Audit conseil a este ouvert de Commettre quelqu'un a Loffice de Tresorier dudit Ordre et a lon parle de la personne de Estienne Bernard Tresorier daniou qui autrefois qu'avoit requis et faict demander tous les dessusdits ont este doppinion que attendu que ledit seigneur a volonte de Faire fondation pour ledit Ordre que Ils sont bien doppinion que on dovie pourvoir audit office de la personne dudit Bernard pour les raisons par eux alleguees

Et pour ce que ledit Seigneur de Beauvau a dict que ce pourroit estre grandement au prejudice et dommage dudit seigneur attendu que Il a encore a Clore et vendre ces comptes de tres longtemps et ansy Il (p911) sembleroit que on ne le devoit point Commettre audit office jusques a ce que Il ce fust descharge de la Tresorerye d'Aniou et que il eust clarifie son faict.

Ledit seigneur de Beauvau le sieur de Loue et les Roy dArmes en leur Compagnye ont este commis pour parler avec luy de cette matiere a ce que Ils ont faict et ont rapporte que Incontinent que Il aura rendu cesdits Comptes qui sont tous prêts que Il est tres joyeux et Coutant de prendre et accepter ledit office de Tresorier de lordre et soy desister de partir de lautre et de ce mercie ledit senateur et autres seigneurs dudit ordre et ansy a este Esleu par le Voys et Eslection de tous les dessusdits en Tresorier dudit Ordre et a este appointe que apres ce quil aura rendu et baille lesdits Comptes en la Chambre que Il sera receu et fera ces serments a ce necessaires.

Au Conseil au manoir de Launay en vallee par le sieur Jean Cossa senateur auquel estoient le Roy les seigneurs de Clermont de Loue de Bresze de Couldray Monseigneur le Duc de Calabre et le Bailly de Vitre le jour d'Octobre lan dessusdit

Ont este leurs trois points et articles declares en un memoire Escript de la main dudit seigneur de Loue cy apres declarees
Le premier sur lassiette des Escus des Armes et timbres de l'Ordre en l'Eglise

Le second sur le hauteur desdits Escus de Bois

Le Tiers est sur la forme des Carreaux

(p912)

Quant au premier touschant lassiette desdits Tableaux et armes sembloient aux dessusdits que en la lite ou soubs la lite des armes danjou est en l'Eglise de Saint Maurice dangiers se devoit assoir au milieu de la muraille de la croizee davec les Cloistres Une Image de Monseigneur Saint Maurice la plus belle et Magnifique que faire ce pourra et a la dextre et senestre dudit Image asseoir et fere mettre les Escus des armes avec les Timbres d'un Chacun des Chevaliers et Escuyers dudit Ordre selon que Ils sont plus ancien crees en iceluy et que Ils soient assis dedens le jour de la solemnite de ledite Feste

Quand au second point touchant la hauteur desdits Tableaux sembloit que ils devoient estre de la hauteur et longueur de quatre pieds et demy commenceant ladite hauteur d'lcaux Tableaux a lendroit des pieds dudit Saint.

Quant au tiers point touchant lesdits Carreaux sembloit qu'ils devoient estre dun pied et demy en quarre les uns de velours plain cramoisy et les autres de satin ainsy que sont les Manteaux et sur Iceux quarreaux seroient les armes dun chacun de lordre en Escusson et dessous les Croissant et lentour leurs divises le tout faict de Brodures et se metteroient lesdits quarreaux a la solemnite de ledite Feste soubs les Cordes dun Chacun a qui soient lesdits Carreaux la presens et au regard des absens leurs Carreaux seroient en leur lieux.

(p913)

Audit Conseil ont este conclus les trois points et articles par l'opinion des dessus dits ainsy comme Ils sont devant escripts et a este appointe que Il en sera faict chappitre qui sera mis et escript avec les autres Constitutions.

Outre a este conclud que les ii ou le iij jour Apres la venue du Roy de Tours a Angiers que on mandera venir on ladite ville les seigneurs du Passavont de Martigne Briand et de Champaigne et eux venir et jouire avec les autres estants ou ledit seigneur seront sur les points et articles dudit Ordre selon la minutte sur ce fausse pieces corrigea pour les conclure perpetuellement et y donner finale conclusion.

Au Conseil dudit Ordre tenu a Angiers par Monseigneur le senateur le xxii jour de decembre lan dessusdit auquel estoient le Roy les seigneurs de Clermont de Loue du Couldray et de Breze.

Par ledit seigneur Roy a este parle de Couverture pieca faite de pourvoir a Loffice de Tresorier de lordre de la personne de Estienne Bernard qu'encore n'y avoit on donne provision quil sembloit que la chose fut mise en delay.

Les dessusdits ont tous este doppinion que au dedans de trois mois prochains venans ledit Bernard a rendu et mis son faict en la Chambre des Comptes et il veille accepter la tresorerie de lordre laissant celle danjou que il receu et ou cas quil ne le feroit quon pourvoye audit office dautres.

(p914)

Et pour ce que derraine fut conclud et appointe que apres la venue dudit seigneur Roy de Tours en Anjou ont menderoit ces seigneurs de Martigne de Passavant et de Champaigne a qui a este faict lesquels ce sont excuses pour la feste de Noel tres prochaine a este dit et ordonne derechef que apres ce que le sieur de Beauvau aura este un jour par deca au retour de son voyage de Rome et aussy au retour du sieur de Loue allant vers Monseigneur le Dauphin et en Provence on mandera les chevaliers et escuyers de Lordre et eux assembles ou plus grand nombre que fere ce pourra ce concluront en Conseil lesdits Chappitres par leur opinion en outre a este dit que ledit seigneur de Loue portera le double desdits Chappitres pour lesmonstrer cox Chevaliers ou escuyers de lordre estans audit Pais de Provence en leurs signiffiant quilz soient cy audit jour et ou cas que Ils auroient excuses telle que ils ny pussent estre ne venir ledit seigneur de Loue en apportera leur oppinion par escript.

Par ledit seigneur de Loue a este dit convient le seigneur de chanze luy avoit parle du faict de lordre en luy priant quil la voulist requerir et demander pour luy et de ce lavoit charge

Touchant ladite Requeste a este conclud per Loppinion des dessusdits (p915) que ensuivant la Conclusion autre fois prise au regard de l'Election des Chevaliers et escuyers de Lordre Contenue en certains article de ce faisant mention que on doibt fere bonne responce audit seigneur de Chanze en luy disant que par les statuts dudit ordre nul ne peut estre receu fors qu'au Chappitre et assemblee Generale dudit Ordre.

Au Conseil dudit Ordre tenu a Angiers par Monseigneur le senateur le vingtquatrieme jour de mars l'an dessusdit auquel estoient Monseigneur de Beauvau seneschal d'Anjou Monseigneur le Roy les seigneurs de Loue de Couldray de Martigne de Champaigne et du Bellay.

A este recite par ledit seigneur senateur de derrain appointment et Conclusion prins touchant les chappitres de lordre qui fust que apres la venue desdits seigneurs de Beauvau de le Loue on devoit estre ensemble pour les Conclure.

Ensuivant ledit appointment apres ce que lesdits chapitres ont este veus et leus par la greffier article apres autre par le conseil adviset deliberation de tous les dessusdits lesdits Chapitres Ceremonnyes ont este conclud et fermes sans plus les muer ne changer

Collationne les coppies cy dessus a leur original Represente par Maitre francois Peinteu licencier es droits advocat au siege Royal de Bauge a la personne et biens de damoiselle Renee de Charnieres fille Unique heritiere de deffunt Louis de Charnieres Vivant escuyer sieur de la Tuffiere et sire de Munimers dudit deffunt ce requerant lie sieur de Charnieres Escuyer auquel Peinteu Curateur ladite Collacion faicte ledit Original a este rendu par nous Nottaires Royaux a Bauge y residents soub^{nez} le 9 jour d'avril 1658

(p916)

Arrest actes Conclusions faicts

es Conseils de lordre du Croissant fonde sous la protection de Monseigneur Saint Maurice durant l'office de Senateur de noble et renomme Chevalier Messire Louis sire de Beauvau Seneschal danjou Conseiller et premier Chambellan de tres hault et tres puissant Prince le Roy de Hierusalem et de Sicile Duc danjou etc ledit sire de Beauvau entant quart senateur dudit ordre pour l'annee commanceant le xxij jour de septembre jour et feste dudit saint aux vespres lan MCCCCLI et finissant ledit jour ausdy vespres lan revolu MCCCCLII Escripts et Registres ceux actes et arrests Jour apres autre comme cy apres sensuit par moy Jean de charnieres Greffier dudit ordre.

Ou conseil de lordre du Croissant tenu a Casse Nove lez le Chasteau dangiers par le sire de Beauvau seneschal danjou senateur dudit ordre le xxij jour dudit mois de septembre lan mil quatrecentz Cinquante et un ouquel estoient seans monseigneur de Lorraine le Roy de Sicile les seigneurs de Clermont de Loue de Couldray de Bresze de

(p917) Martigne Briand de Passavant de Champaigne Messire Girard seigneur de Haraucourt seneschal de Bar et de Lorraine Messire Simon d'Anglure seigneur destoges Monseigneur le Duc de Calabre Thierry de Lenoncourt escuyer Bailly de Vitry les Seigneurs de Bellay de Chanzay de Precigny de la Plesse Clerembault

Ont este concluds certains ponts articles dont mention est faicte cy apres.

Quant au premier point faisant mention du nombre des Chevaliers et Escuyers de lordre acte conclud per l'opinion des dessusdits que le nombre sera de L.

Quand au second point fa sant mention du nombre de aidans le senateur pour fere Election daucun a este conclu que nul ne pourra estre receu en lordre sans avoir la voix de dix ou moings avec le senateur.

Quand au tiers point faisant mention se le senateur doibt porter le Croissant tous les jours de la semaine et de l'annee durant sien office de Senateur a este conclud que attendu que es chapitres est dit que on le peult porter chacun jour de la semaine que il nest besoin de plus avant en abstraire le senateur.

Quant au quatrieme point faisant mention qu'après la mort des Chevaliers et escuyers le drap de leurs manteaux doibt demourer a lordre et estre envoye au tresorier dudit ordre et en fere chappes pour la chapelle diceluy ordre et de leur Carreau et broderye en fere le Capulaire par lopinion des dessusdits a este conclud quainsy se fera.

Quand au cinquieme article faisant mention se on fera attacher au bas des tableaux le petit escusson de Brodeure que on met au parement de la Chaire pour connoistre lesquels ont este senateur a este appointe et conclud quainsy se fera.

Quand au sixieme article faisant mention ou se mettront les Carreaux de brodeure et autres choses a este conclud quils demoureront en la garde du Tresorier de lordre avec les draps et couvertes des sieges.

Quand au septieme article faisant mention du seigneur de Belleville qui demanda autrefois Lordre a este conclud que pour le present il ne sera point receu mais dira lon au begue qui a charge de parler de Belleville de le poursuivre que il nen parle plus.

Oudit Conseil a este ordonne que quand les Chevaliers et escuyers de lordre se trouveront ensemble a leglise que nul ne refuse la paix mais que le premier a qui me sera presentee la prendra sans la renvoyer a lautre.

(p918)

Outre a este ordonne que quant vendra la vigille de la feste de Saint Maurice a heur de Vespres tous les Chevaliers et escuyers dudit ordre la presens seron confessez

Ou Conseil dudit ordre tenu a angiers par monseigneur de Beauvau ouquel estoient monseigneur le Roy de Sicile Les seigneurs de Loue du Couldray et de Bresze Monseigneur le Duc de Calabre le seigneur de Precigny le tresorier et los Roy darmes le xvi jour de janvier lan dessusdit

A este dit quil sera ordonne ou Clerc du greffier dudit Ordre de fere x ou xii Petits livrets en parchemin des serments contenus au chapitre de lordre et par le tresorier en seront payez et que se poursuivant les portes aux seigneurs freres dudit ordre et par le senateur leur sera faict dire que chacun desdits Chevaliers et escuyers mette payne de scavoir la contenue desdites livrets

Item plus a este conclud que les xxii" du Louroux seront Rachecpts pour la fondation et semble qu'on les ara pour cœscus.

Item a este conclud que on mettra esdits livrets le Chapitre contenant que tous les Chevaliers et escuyers de lordre seront confessez la vigille ou le jour de Saint Maurice avant que venir a la messe dudit jour comme autre fois fut conclu.

Et pareillement y sera mis le chapitre qui parle de la paix quand les freres ce treuvent a l'Eglise.

Item le Roy veut fere fere a ces despens un manteau de satin plein Cramoisy ou nom de feu Pierre de Faucon ou payer le drap dune chappe au fere fere le Chapperon de bas chappe de brodeure aux armes dudit feu pierre afin d'en commancer a entretenir le contenu desdits Chapitres et sera mis esdits livrets.

Item acte conclud que le tresorier fera fere un grand coffre ou deux pour estuyer les carreaux des Chevaliers et escuyers dudit ordre et serond mis en l'Eglise de Saint Maurice en lieu qui sera advise estre convenable.

Item a este outre ordonne que ledit tresorier fera fere un autre coffre qui sera mis en leur eglise ouquel le greffier dudit ordre sera tenu metre la coppie de tous les actes arrests et conclusions quilz feront chacun an es Conseils diceluy ordre et diceluy coffre avant le maistre des Requetes et lesdits tresoriers et greffier chacun sa clef pour recouvrer oudit coffre a chacune heure les choses qui seront besoin pour le bien dudit ordre.

Ou faict de la peinture de limage de Monseigneur Saint Maurice a este conclud que on appellera deux ou trois peintres pour adviser la maniere comment il pourra mieux estre faict ou per maniere d'une Escarboucle ou dun drap dor et ara le tresorier la charge den parler.

Outre a este conclud que pour voir les comptes du tresorier le seigneur du Couldray le Maitre des Requetes et Tourneville pour le greffier soient commis.

(p919)

Item a este appointe que Messeigneurs de Loue de Grimaut de Riboir ou de Mison et le Chancellier de lordre seront comis a sollicitor devers lui largent necessaire pour le faict de lordre et que Monseigneur le senateur le leur en charge.

Ou conseil dudit ordre tenu a angiers par Monseigneur le seneschal danjou senateur diceluy ordre les quatre jour de septembre lan dessusdit auquel furent Monseigneur de Lorraine le Roy de Sicile les seigneurs de Clermont de Couldray de bresze de Champaigne de Passavant le duc de Calabre les seigneurs du Bellay de Chanze de Precigny et de la Plesse Clairambault ses Maitres des Requetes le tresorier et le Roy darmes estoient.

Touchant la Requete faite per martelet destre receu maitre d'hostel dudit ordre les dessusdits ont este doppinion que pour le present et iusques a ce que le Roy ait fait fondacion en lordre quil nest point de besoin quil y ait Maitre d'hostel.

Touchant louverture faite de se senateur allant a lofferte et se retournant doit encliner ou non devant le Roy de Sicile et Monseigneur le Duc de Calabre les dessusdits aut tous este doppinion que il se doit encliner et ainsy a este conclud.

Ou conseil dudit ordre tenu a angiers pour monseigneur le seneschal danjou senateur diceluy ordre le vingtsept jour de septembre lan dessusdit ouquel estoient presents tous les devantsdits Par mondit seigneur a este mis en avant que les carreaux de Brodeure des Chevaliers et escuyers de lordre tant absens comme presents sont sy pres lun de lautre quen peine peut on connoistre lesquels sont absens et pour ce que Il seroit bien que on fist a chacun un siege a part tous ces dessusdits ont este doppinion que pour ce que le lieu est petit et estroit que il est bon de le voir et adviser la maniere de selon la place et ansy a este conclud quil sera faict.

Par noudit seigneur le senateur a este mis entermes que pour ce que il y a maistre des Requetes en lordre quil seroit licite et convenable que en labsence du Chancellier Il mist en termes ce que seroit a expedier touchant le fait de lordre.

Les dessusdits ont este doppingion que quand le Chancellier sera present le Maitre des Requetes recueillera et prendra les supplications et autres choses qui seront a expedier ou Conseil dudit ordre pour le Bailer audit Chancellier qui les mettra en termes entre lesdits Chevaliers et Escuyers et quant le Chancellier sera absent le Maitre des Requetes fera comme le Chancellier feroit.

Par Monditseigneur a este mis en avant quaucuns oyent que le nom de greffier de lordre ne sonne pas sy bien ne nest pas sy honnorable comme dire secretaire de lordre tous les dessusdits ont este doppingion que Il se doit dire appeller greffier et non secretaire Ven que trois ans et plus que on la tousjours ainsy appelle et nomme et aussy que les chapitres se dysent.

Ou dit Conseil a este mis en termes que il sembleront que on labsence du Chancellier le Maitres des Requetes devroit avoir sa garde du grand sal lesdessusdits ont este doppingion quainsy se doit fere et quainsy a este conclud.

Outdit Conseil a este conclud que il se fera un abrege des Ceremonies de lordre qui seront a tenir la vigille jour et lendemain de la feste de Monseigneur Saint Maurice lequel se lire aux Chevaliers escuyers et autres dudit ordre avant que aller aux vespres.

(p920)

Oudit conseil a este conclud que la feste et solemnite de Monseigneur Saint Maurice se fera au plaisir de Dieu pour lannee advenir dans lEglise dangiers se il ny a mutation ouquel on le signifiera aux chevaliers et escuyers dudit ordre.

Touchant louverture faite de Proceder a fere les Chroniques de Chevaliers et escuyers de lordre pour ce que il en est faict mention es serments dudit ordre les dessusdits ont este doppingion que le Maitre des Requetes et le Roy darmes se doyent informer secretement avec les Chevaliers et escuyers dudit ordre et autres que bonheur semblera des vaillances es armes faictes et Veue fere par chacun desdits Chevaliers et escuyers et se il y avoit aucune doute ou difficulte en ce quilz trouveroient par rapport dautre touchant aucun dudit ordre ils le interrogeront par serment de dire verite de ce quilz luy demanderont.

Ou Conseil dudit ordre a este esleu mondit seigneur de Precigny en senateur de lordre pour lannee prochaine a venir pour ce quil a eu treize voix audit Conseil et que nul autre n'en a tant eu et apres ladite Election a fait les serments appertenus audit office de senateur.

Oudit Conseil a este presente a mondit seigneur le senateur et autres messeigneurs de lordre une lettre Cloze contenant la maladie de la personne du Bailly de Vitry parquoy il navoit peu venir au jour de la feste avec Une procuration de son seing manuel et sceles du scel de ses armes donne le treize jour de ce present mois de septembre par laquelle il constitue et faict Messire Louis de Bournon seigneur de Couldray son procureur.

[BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241]

CHAPTER ONE: FOOTNOTES

1. D. Poirion, Le Poète et le Prince: L'Evolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans (Paris, 1965), p.21. For background information see P.S. Lewis, Later Medieval France: the Polity (London, 1968) and E. Perroy, "Feudalism or Principalities in 15th Century France", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. 20 (1945). For a detailed study of the economic crisis and its social consequences, R. Boutruche, La Crise d'une Société: Seigneurs et Paysans du Bordelais pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (Paris, 1947).
2. B. Guenée, L'Occident aux XIV^e & XV^e siècles (Paris, 1971), p. 225.
3. G. Chastellain, quoted by Richard F. Green, Poets and Prince-pleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages (Toronto, 1980), p. 17.
4. G. Chastellain, in Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires, (ed.), Buchon (Paris, 1837), p. 318.
5. Roger Chartier in his deft analysis and introduction to N. Elias, La Société de Cour, (Paris, 1985), p.xx. Although Elias' study concentrates on the dynamics of the 17th and 18th century court society, he makes some useful points on the nobility's striving for differentiation and distinction.
6. D. Poirion, ut supra, p. 90.
7. Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 327.
8. D.A. Bullough, "Games People Played: Drama and Ritual as Propaganda in Medieval Europe", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (1974), p. 122. For Jaquot, the principal function of the "fête" is the "célébration de la continuité d'une société", "La Fête Princièrè", Histoire des Spectacles vol. 19 (Tours, 1965), p. 211, for Heers it is "l'occasion d'affirmer des valeurs établies", Fêtes; Jeux et Joutes dans les Sociétés d'Occident à la Fin du Moyen Age (Montreal, 1971), p. 13. Heers' first two chapters discuss the question fully.
9. A. Lafortune-Martel, Fête Noble en Bourgogne au XV^e siècle (Montreal, 1984), p. 20.
10. A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV: the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478 (Manchester, 1959), p.3.

CHAPTER TWO: FOOTNOTES

1. F.M. Graves, Deux Inventaires de la Maison d'Orléans (1389 and 1408), (Paris, 1926).
2. A potted history of the records is given in the introduction to volume 3 of L. de Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts et les industries pendant le XV^e siècle (Paris, 1852).
3. The characteristic divisions of the monthly "rouleaux" are as follows:- "deniers baillees" to the "valet de chambre", "deniers baillees" to the "maitre de la chambre aux deniers", "orfevrerie", "draps de soye, de laine, pelleterie..", "dons", "gaiges, pensions", "voiages, chevaucheurs, messagerie et despens commune". Gifts were made "de sa grace especial pour une foiz pour consideracion des bons et agreables services" with no other explanation. More frustrating are payments noted in the accounts with "n'en voulons autre declaracion cy estre faite".
4. C. de Pisan, Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy Charles V, Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France (1836), p. 29.
5. BL, Add. ch. 2076 and 2098.
6. C. de Pisan, ut supra, p. 29.
7. See Chapter 4, footnotes 37-39.
8. C. Ribéra-Perville, "Aspects du Mécénat de Louis 1^{er} d'Orléans", Jeanne d'Arc: Une Epoque de Rayonnement, Colloque d'Histoire Médiévale, Orléans 1979 (Paris, 1982), p. 144, "... il multiplie les manifestations chevaleresques, les preuves ostensibles de sa richesse, espérant ainsi convaincre de potentiels vassaux".
9. BN. P. orig. 2158 no. 395 to 399, Vidimus of five "mandemants" of 11 August 1405.
10. For example, BN. Ms. fr. 20586 p. 47 - 8000 francs d'or, 16 May 1390 and Archives du Loiret, 6J7:1, 1200lt, February 1400.
11. BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 1582 and no. 1689, gifts of 18 and 28 September 1396.
12. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3640 no. 493, Letter of Louis referring to Charles' gift of 18 June 1406.
13. BN. P. orig. 2154 no. 283, Vidimus of Charles' act, 24 August 1402. The quote is from a Procès-verbal of 1403 itemising their injuries, given by Maulde de la Clavière, Histoire de Louis XII (Paris, 1889), p. 12.
14. AN. KK 267, f^o 34v^o, f^o 28r^o and f^o 11r^o. The account covers the period 1 October 1404 to 30 September 1405.

15. M. Nordberg, Les Ducs et la Royauté (Uppsala, 1964), p. 38, notes that while 90% of Louis' revenue for 1404 to 1405 derived from the king, in the period 5 November 1405 to 19 November 1406 only 24% of John the Fearless' revenues came from that source.
16. AN. KK 267, f^o 78v^o. The original contracts are to be found in AN. K 56^a and 56^b and K57. Crawford's letters of homage promised the duke the service of three knights, six squires and twelve archers, Paris, 1 January 1401, K57 no. 9¹². "Le systeme vassalique de Louis d'Orléans" is discussed in Nordberg, ut supra, Chapter 6, pp. 156-162 and P.S. Lewis, "Decayed and Non Feudalism in Later Medieval France", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, t37 (1964), pp. 157-84.
17. See Nordberg again, ut supra, Chapter 2, pp. 39-60 for Louis' success in infiltrating his men into the royal council and other governmental and administrative posts.
18. BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 73.
19. BN. P. orig. 2154 no. 247.
20. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3640 no. 445.
21. R.C. Famiglietti, Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420 (New York, 1986) refers to a letter written from Paris in June 1403 to a friend in Strasbourg stating that the duke wanted to instal the pope in Rome and be crowned Emperor by him in return, p. 224 n. 84.
22. BN. Collection Bastard d'Estaing, no. 1015.
23. De Roussay had been placed in Louis' service when the latter was a child, in September 1389 he received wages of 100 francs a month as the duke's chamberlain (BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 75). He was the recipient of numerous gifts, 4000 francs on his marriage, in January 1391 (B.N. P. orig. 2152 no. 68), and his heraldic arms appeared in the windows of the duke's "Hôtel de La Poterne", Paris (BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 1429).
24. First appears in September 1389 receiving a gift of 1000 francs from the duke (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3638 no. 128). After Louis' death, he was on the list of John the Fearless' worst enemies at court.
25. Son of Philippe de Calleville, and brother of George who was also in Louis' service as his "pannetier", Jean was "ecuyer tranchant" in 1398 (BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 687) and chamberlain by 1402 (Archives du Loiret, 2J21: 31 January 1402). By 1413 he was a chamberlain to John the Fearless.
26. De Gaucourt joined Louis' service on his return from imprisonment after Nicopolis. In 1413 he was sent by Charles d'Orléans to the Roy des Romains to seek repayment of a loan of 30000 francs d'or made by Louis. (AN. K58 no. 2).

27. "Ecuyer d'honneur" in 1392 (Archives du Loiret, 6J3 no. 48-50), De Trie, seigneur de Plainville and de Fontenay, received a gift of 100 francs d'or as ducal chamberlain in 1400 (Archives du Loiret 2J20:1 October 1400). He continued in Charles d'Orléan's service and was his chamberlain and "Chef Maître d'Hotel" in 1415 (BL. Add. ch 3147).
28. A list of her "étrennes", given in January 1397 (BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 2719) details gifts for 52 individuals including Boniface de Mores, her "premier ecuyer de corps", Surien Desquesnes, her "Chevalier d'Honneur" and Giles Malet, her "maître d'hotel", the former librarian of Charles V. At this date there were twenty three women in her household (BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 2309).
29. F. Autrand, Charles VI (Paris, 1986), p. 403. Migli was also responsible for a poem which bestowed on Louis an illustrious lineage going back to Jupiter, Venus and Anchises, S.L. Hindman, Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othea": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI (Toronto, 1986), p. 104.
30. Deschamps served as ducal "maître d'hotel" from as early as 1394, Archives du Loiret, 6J2 piece 75-6.
31. Othon de Grandson received a horse from the duke in 1396, BN. P. orig. 2154 no. 237-9.
32. C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau, La Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI (Paris, 1982), p. 109, 89, 99 and 113. Other Orléanists belonging to this court were Jean de Hangest, Georges and Jean de Calleville, Guillaume de Trie, Gadifer de la Sale, Raoul de Gaucourt and François de l'Hopital.
33. Autrand's view on their relationship is that "la rivalité entre les deux frères est au coeur du drame personnel du roi", Charles VI op. cit., p. 313.
34. On 8 February 1389 Charles VI directed payment of 400 francs d'or to his "knight and chamberlain" Braquet de Braquemont for services rendered and the expenses of his journey to Languedoc (BN. P. orig. 494 no. 14). In August that same year, Louis d'Orléans ordered Jean Poulain to pay "nostre ame et feal chevalier et chambellan", 500 francs dor (BN. P. orig. 494 no. 16). De Braquemont remained an Orléanist. He was one of the signatories of the Declaration of St Ouen, 1411, supporting Charles' cause, though by 1415 he was also the chamberlain of the duc de Guyenne (BN. Ms. fr. 6210 no. 356).
35. The Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, strongly Burgundian, described de Brebant as "une mauvaise personne ... qui moult fist de mal en France", H. Moranvillé, "Le Songe Veritable ... pamphlet Politique d'un Parisien du XV^e siècle", Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, t17 (1890), p. 317.
36. Maulde de la Clavière, ut supra, p. 19.
37. BN. P. orig. 2156 no. 398, 11 October 1408.

38. F.M. Graves, Deux Inventaires..., op. cit. Inventaire II. The directive for its preparation was probably made by Valentine Visconti just prior to her death on 4 December 1408. It was drawn up by the Abbé de Chessy, Valentine's confessor and testamentary executor, Pierre de Mornay, chamberlain, councillor and Governor of the Duchy of Orléans, Jehan Mauvoisin, Valentine's "maitre d'hotel" and her secretary Pierre Sauvage.

38. BN. P. orig. 2156 no. 382 and AN. K57 no. 6. A tally of 12 archers and 10 crossbowmen "des meilleurs" who were to accompany the duke, was laid down in an "ordonnance" of 1409 drawn up by Isabeau de Bavière and Jean de Berry to regulate part of Charles' household, and the rotation of twelve knights and twelve squires each serving four months per year. At the end of their four months "seroit bien fait que monsieur leur donnast aucune courtoisie", AN. K56^B no. 24.

40. BN. Ms. fr. 7852, p. 1140.

41. Douet d'Arcq, Choix de Pièces Inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI, t1, CXLIX, pp. 344-346, "Nous cognoissans aussi le droit que monseigneur d'Orléans, vostre filz et neveu, a de vouloir venger la mort de monseigneur son pere, lequel apres la voie de fait par faute de justice, laquelle faulte de justice a este et est par aucuns de voz conseillers et servans, menistres et favorables de cellui qui tant vous a offense, le sommes venuz servir". The signatories include Louis' former chamberlains Jean de Roussay, Jean de Hangest, Geoffrey le Meingre dit Boucicaut, Gadifer de la Sale, Guillaume de Braquemont, Francois d'Aubiscourt, Raoul de Gaucourt, Pierre de Mornay dit Gaulvet, Jehan de Garencleres and Mansart d'Esne.

42. F. Autrand, Charles VI, op. cit., p. 477. The hostages accompanying Jean d'Angoulême were Archambaud de Villars, Guillaume le Bouteiller, Hector de Pontbriand, Jehan de Sav uses, Jean Davy and Macé le Borgne, AN K57 no. 28.

43. BL. Add. ch. 234, 23 November 1412.

44. BL. Add. ch. 252, 24 May 1413.

45. BL. Add. ch. 2426, 2433 and 2439 concerns the purchase of expensive clothes for Charles and his household at this period.

46. A. Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, ducs d'Orléans: Leur influence sur les arts, la littérature et l'esprit de leur siècle (Paris, 1844), vol. 2, p. 301 et seq., quotes the document (AN. K68 no. 10 and BL. Add. ch. 3472) in its entirety.

47. BN. Add ch. 3481. For the continuous stream of payments made to Charles' and Jean's captors and for their maintenance in England, see P. Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans, (Paris, 1911), pp. 160 et seq.

48. AN. KK. 269. Only a few of the books were sold. This is one of the earliest inventories of Charles' library. Everything that could otherwise be offered for sale, was. Three "moutons" were received for "un viel coissin de velouau vermeil use ... sans poil, fort tache de ordure et de Cire".

49. See Maulde de la Clavière, Histoire de Louis XII (Paris, 1889), p. 65 and pp. 74 et seq. for details on sums advanced to Charles and his difficulties in paying these back as well as paying the ransoms of Jean d'Angoulême, released in 1445.
50. Enguerran de Monstrelet, Chronique, tV, pp. 449-453. "Et pour ce, non obstant qu'il [Charles VII] eust ordonne au duc d'Orliens venir devers luy, en disant a ses gens qui luy avoient apporte les nouvelles de son retour, que moult le desiroit a veoir, nientmoins, pour les choses dessus dictes, ne fut point content qu'il y alast, si non a privee maisnie, sans y mener aucuns dessus diz de son service, c'est assavoir ceulx du dessus dit pays du duc de Bourgogne".
51. Maulde de la Clavière, ut supra, pp. 71-2.
52. Champion, ut supra, p. 401.
53. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3642 no. 802, 18 August 1441 and Archives du Loiret 6J9 piece 36.
54. Archives du Loiret, 6J9 piece 66.
55. BN. P. orig. 2158 no. 581.
56. BN. P. orig. 2159 no. 657. Eighty one were in Charles' household, thirty four in Marie de Clèves, and eight in that of "monsieur de Beaujeu" The fourth son of Charles de Bourbon, Pierre de Beaujeu, remained at Blois with the duke from 1447 and was later engaged in marriage to his daughter.
57. AN. KK. 270. "Voiages" account for 23 l 7s 6 dt as opposed to 1983 l 17s 6 dt for Louis (AN. KK 267 f^o 97v^o).
58. AN. KK 271, f^o 10v^o and 13v^o.
59. Brother of Andrien, who replaced him as "argentier" in 1455. AN. KK 271 f^o 1. Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans, op. cit., p. 602.
60. In Charles' service since 1455, AN. KK 271 f^o 22v^o, where he appears as "ecuyer tranchant". He frequently joined Charles playing chess or card games, the duke's favourite pastime, BN. P. orig. 2159 no. 660, 662 and P. orig. 2160 no. 664, 666-9, monthly "escroes" for February-September 1457 record payments to the duke and his wife, ranging from 7 lt. to 28 lt, for them to "jouer aux tables" or "aux echecs" or "au glic", with the squires Gilles des Ormes, Guiot Pot (another poet), Guillaume de Fontenay and François de Chastillon.
61. Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René (Paris, 1875), t2, Itineraire du Roi René.

62. BN. P. orig. 2159 no. 660 - 17 March 1457, Du Pin was given 8 l 5st. Du Pin came to Blois to visit Janus de Savoie who stayed there for a total of seven months. Du Pin's visit lasted only 12 days. Janus gave him 6 escus dor to enable him to return to Savoy "pour cause que monseigneur le duc dorleans ne le volut retenir", F. Rabut, "Le Séjour de Janus de Savoie en France avec son Gouverneur Louis d'Avanchier (1456-8)", M.D.S. 26 (1887), p. 321.
63. Champion, ut supra, p. 632.
64. The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, 1465-7, (ed.) M. Letts (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 66-71.
65. Adopted as heir in 1419, René succeeded as Duke of Bar in 1430, A. Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René t1 (Paris, 1875), chapter 2.
66. The marriage was agreed upon by treaty of 20 March 1419, the ceremony taking place at Nancy on 24 October 1420, ut supra, pp. 55-60.
67. The details of this imprisonment are given in Lecoy de la Marche, ut supra., pp. 92-128.
68. Letter of Candido Decembrio, 28 October 1435, Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t1, p. 117, t2, Pièces Justificatives no. 8.
69. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t1, p. 245, t2 Pièces Justificatives no. 21.
70. Philip the Good had originally demanded a ransom of 400000 écus, half of which René was to have paid on taking possession of the Kingdom of Sicily. 100000 écus came from the dowry of Marie de Bourbon, married to Jean de Calabre. Of the remainder, René had only paid 19400 écus, Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t1, p. 247.
71. The convention was signed at Tours, 21 February 1452. For the background to this treaty see Elia Colombo, "Re Renato alleato del Duca Francesco Sforza contro i Veneziani (1453-4)", ASL, ser III tI (1894), pp. 79-83.
72. AN. KK. 246, "Compte de James Louet conseiller et tresorier general des finances ... deppute a faire ... la Recepte et despense de la somme de cinquanteinq mil livres tournois".
73. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t1 p. 373.
74. AN. P. 1334⁹, f^o 123r^o, 14 July 1471.
75. Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine par Jehan de Bourdigné (ed.), H. de Quatrebarbes, (Angers, 1842), p. 219.

76. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t1, p. 376. On 27 September 1466 a Catalanian embassy offered René the throne of Aragon by virtue of his mother, daughter of John I of Aragon. René sent his son, Jean de Calabre, as his Lieutenant-General, but support for his campaign was lacking and the venture came to an end with his death on 16 December 1470, it was rumoured by poison. See J. Calmette, Louis XI, Jean II et la Revolution Catalane (Geneva, 1977 reprint), pp. 270 et seq.
77. In his testament of 1474, René named his grandson René II, as the heir to Bar and Lorraine, with Anjou and Provence reserved for his childless nephew, Charles du Maine. The precise reasoning behind René's decision to quit his Angevin apanage for ever has generally been explained in terms of the "malheurs et les deuils" of these years, the death of his son Jean, son-in-law Ferry de Vaudemont, the captivity of his daughter Marguerite, in the Tower of London. Lecoy de la Marche is probably nearer to home when he suggests that René was seeking to distance himself from his nephew, Louis XI, Le Roi René, t1, pp. 380-381 and N. Coulet, A. Planche and F. Robin, Le Roi René: Le Prince, le Mécène, l'Ecrivain, le Mythe (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), pp. 39-42.
78. AN. P 1334¹⁴.
79. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479.
80. Ibid., B 2480-B 2502.
81. Françoise Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence (Paris, 1985), p. 29.
82. L'Abbé Papon, writing in the eighteenth century, described René's existence in Provence for the last ten years of his life as frugal, "sans faste", "dans l'interieur de son palais il n'etait ni somptueux ni magnifique", Histoire Générale de Provence (Paris, 1784), pp. 390-1, a viewpoint a study of the accounts for these years, shows to be untenable.
83. G. Arnaud D'Agnel, Les Comptes du roi René, 3 vol. (Paris, 1908-1910), is divided as follows, "Batiments et Domaines d'Anjou", "Edifices de Provence", "Objets d'Art", "Livres", "Tappisserie", "Orfevrerie", "Armures et Armes", "Costume, Equipages", "Meubles, Utensiles, Objets Divers", "Vie et Moeurs". Lecoy de la Marche, Extraits des comptes et memoriaux du roi René, pour servir à l'histoire des arts au XV^e siècle (Paris, 1873) is also similarly biased. Despite its deficiencies, the latter's Le Roi René, op. cit., still remains the authoritative work, while the earlier F.L. de Villeneuve-Bargemont, Histoire de René d'Anjou, roi de Naples, duc de Lorraine, et conte de Provence, 3 vols. (Paris, 1825), though useful, is very flawed.
84. Françoise Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale, La Cour d'Anjou XIV-XV siècle (Paris, 1970) and Françoise Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence, op. cit.
85. Piponnier, ut supra, p. 78.
86. Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, t1, pp. 469-70.

87. Coulet, Planche and Robin, Le Roi René: Le Prince, le Mécène, l'Ecrivain, le Mythe, op. cit., p. 52.
88. Ut supra, p. 50.
89. AN. P 1334⁹ f^o 28r^o, letter of 20 May 1469, re. Pierre Bouteiller's, "Receveur d'Anjou", non payment of wages to Jehan de la Croiz "garde de notre tapicerie", "la poictevine" and Thibault Lienart her husband. Arrears in wages was therefore the result of mismanagement by the financial officers. As in Savoy, these posts were held for a short term only.
90. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2514, f^o 6v^o, 5 August 1479.
91. Ibid., B 16, f^o 92v^o, 16 August 1470 and f^o 174v^o, 14 September 1472.
92. Ibid., B 272, f^o 28v^o, 8 October 1477.
93. Ibid., B 17 f^o 80v^o, January 1475.
94. Ibid., B 272 f^o 14v^o, two letters patent of 7 October 1475 and 7 October 1476 relate to the placing in the Abbey of St Nicholas of Angers, of Didier de Gondreville, who "par impotence de sa Personne ne peut plus bonnement servir".
95. Ibid., B 15, f^o 168r^o, 8 September 1465.
96. Ibid., B 15, f^o 225r^o, and B 16, f^o 185r^o.
97. Ibid., B 15, f^o 107, 31 March 1464.
98. Ibid., B 2479, f^o 10, December 1451, noted as councillor and secretary, Coulet, Planche and Robin, Le Roi René, op. cit., p. 47.
99. César Nostredame, L'Histoire et Chronique de Provence (Lyon, 1614), p. 646.
100. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 16, f^o 73r^o and B 17, f^o 121v^o.
101. F. Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale..., op. cit., p. 216.
102. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 18, f^o 61r^o.
103. Ibid., B 15, f^o 98, 4 August 1462; AN P 1334⁸ f^o 159v^o, gift of a "maison sise en la Rue de lescorcherie dangiers", 22 October 1466, and f^o 166; Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 272, f^o 11r^o, 8 June 1476.
104. F. Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence op. cit., p. 112.
105. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 90 et seq., the list also included 81 "gentilshommes de lostel, secretaires, chiefz d'office, clerons et pages" and 75 "menuz officiers, chevaucheurs, charretiers, mulletiers et varlets d'estable" with 14 "gallopins et varlets de charretiers". In July 1444, Isabelle had 63 persons in her household, under the superintendence of Gilles de Bournon, her "maitre d'hotel" and Jehan du Plessis "dit le Begue", her "premier Escuier d'Escuierie", BN. Ms. fr. 7853.

106. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2491, f^o 10r^o et seq. Five of the seven chamberlains were allowed payment for five men and five horses, the "grant escuier d'escuierie" Philippe de Lenoncourt, 6 men and 6 horses, most of the "pannetiers", "echansons" and secretaries, two men and two horses etc. Their upkeep over the 3 months cost 11041 florins.
107. BN. Ms. Clairambault 487 f^o 251, wages April to June 1447; Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 30v^o; BN. Ms. fr. 7853, p. 1461; Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2491 f^o 10r^o; *ibid.*, B 2498, f^o 7r^o and B 18 f^o 102v^o complaint of May 1479 that Luc Damar has not paid him his pension because the letters patent has not been "Archivees".
108. AN. P 1334⁸ f^o 196, marriage contract, 1467; P 1334⁷ f^o 1, notes his presence in the ducal council, holding office of "grant Maitre d'Hotel", in 1458. See also DNF.
109. See Chapter 6, note 209.
110. Noted in the accounts throughout the 1470s. A Perrinet Puig, appears as "pasticier" in April-July 1477, Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2497, f^o 26r^o.
111. Described as "ymageur du roy de Sicille", working in the Barrois in 1463, and then followed René's court, see Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence, p. 81.
112. Barthelémy appears in the accounts between 1447 and 1472, holding the position of "valet de chambre" and apparently enjoying the favour and confidence of the king, BN. Ms. Clairambault 487 f^o 251 and AN. P 1335 f^o 133 notes his working in the "chambre du petit retrait du roy". For latter reference see Robin, *ut supra*, p. 64. Robin estimates that out of the 52 painters and illuminators working for Rene between the period 1447 and 1480, 27 were part of his household at one time or another.
113. Balthazar was secretary to Isabelle de Lorraine c.1453, Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 77v^o, and consequently "controleur des finances" of Jeanne de Laval before becoming that of Rene.
114. R. Avezou, quoted by B. Demotz in "La politique internationale du Comte de Savoie (debut XIII^e-debutXV^es)", Cahiers de Savoie, tXIX (1974), p. 63.
115. Amédée VI was married to Bonne de Bourbon, Amédée VII to Bonne de Berry and Amédée VIII to Marie de Bourgogne. Into the fifteenth century and beyond, the dynasty favoured marriage alliances with French princes or princesses. In 1432 Marguerite de Savoie married Louis III d'Anjou although he died in 1434 before they had met; her sister Bonne was engaged to François de Dreux, c^{te} de Montfort, but she died before the marriage could be celebrated. Amédée IX married Yolande, daughter of Charles VII, his sister Charlotte, Louis XI. Agnes another sister was wed to François d'Orléans, c^{te} de Dunois (1456), her brother Philippe sans Terre to Marguerite daughter of Charles de Bourbon (1471). These marriages, particularly those connecting Savoy to the French royal house, were a source of considerable prestige.

116. See works cited under F. Cognasso, *La reine Marie-José*, L. Marini and Marie Thérèse Bouquet in the Bibliography.
117. Born in 1383, Amédée attained his majority at the age of fifteen. O de la Marche, *Mémoires*, (eds.), H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (Paris, 1888), t1, p. 264.
118. *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II* (trans.), F.A. Gragg, (ed.), L.C. Gabel (London, 1959), Book VII, p. 221. Piccolomini, who on becoming pope became less than favourable towards Amadee, continues, "Amadeo in his mountain kingdom far from war was constantly being chosen as arbiter by one party or the other and he was considered the only one of them all who knew how to give good council to himself and others. The folly of others made him seem wise...".
119. H. Baud, "Amédée VIII et la guerre de Cent Ans", *Revue Savoisienne* (1969); Marie-José, *Amédée VIII, Le Duc qui devint Pape*, t1, ch. XVI-XVII.
120. Marie-José, ut supra, ch. XI.
121. L. Costa de Beauregard, "Souvenirs du Règne d'Amédée VIII, premier duc de Savoie", *Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale de Chambéry*, 2^{es}, tIV (1861).
122. C. Duval, "La Réunion du Comté de Genevois à la Savoie par Amédée VIII de Savoie, le 5 Aout 1401: Moeurs Féodales", *Revue Savoisienne*, t50 (1909), pp. 97-102, pp. 248-56; Marie-José, ut supra, t1, p. 129 et seq; J. Camus, "La Cour du Duc Amé VIII à Rumilly en Albanais", *Revue Savoisienne*, t42 (1901), pp. 297-8.
123. Marquis de Bissy, *L'Erection du Duché de Savoie* (Mémoire dactylographie, Chambéry, 1934); Marie-José, ut supra, t1, ch. 14.
124. AST. Inv. 16 no. 61, f^o 333r^o, 334r^o, 534r^o, 328. The ducal cook, Pierre Morel, dit "Boquet", is said to have made a pastry representing a map of the new duchy, Demotz, Brondy Leguay, *La Savoie de l'An Mil à la Réforme*, (Chambéry, 1984), p. 301.
125. Cabaret d'Oronville first appears in the accounts in June 1417, receiving expenses of 20 florins, pp., AST. Inv. 16, no. 63, f^o 116v^o; his last appearance is in the livery lists of 1420, AST. Inv. 16, no. 66, f^o 11, 140, 141. The most recent studies on the chronicle at the court of Savoy are A. Perret, "Chroniqueurs et historiographes de la Maison de Savoie au XV^e et XVI^{es}", *Culture et Pouvoir au Temps de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance* (Paris-Genève, 1978), and A. Barbero, "Corti e storiografia di corte nel Piemonte tardo medievale", *Piemonte Medievale: Forme del Potere e della Società* (Turin, 1985). In the "Geste et Chroniques de la Maison de Savoye", Jean Servion pushed back the dynastic origins to Troy. Sheila Edmunds surmises that the Missal made for the Sainte Chapelle in Chambéry illuminated with "litteris et floribus aureis" was to celebrate Amédée's elevation to duke, "The Medieval Library of Savoy", *Scriptorium*, tXXIV (1970), p. 321.

126. "Ceremoniale prescritto dal Duca di Savoya Amedeo par la funzione festa al 15 agosto 1424 per la collazione dei titoli di principe di piemonte e di duca del genevese ai due suoi figliuoli Amedeo e Ludovico", transcribed from the *Registre de Tribu*, vol. 2, p.130, by M. Piccard, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Chablaisienne*, t 9-10, (1895-6), XV-XXII. After the investiture, any wishing to be knighted were to present themselves before the duke, and the event was rounded off with jousts, supper and dancing. The order of ceremony also prescribes the etiquette to be observed - "Item en alant a pies... Amé monseigneur ira devant loys monseigneur ung petit pas par maniere que a son ayse il le puisse tenir par la main, et en chevauchant le passera du coul de son cheval", ... "Item a table quant seront ensemble les servira Ame monseigneur premier a creance et couvert et tous les aultres apres sans creance et couverte, et en son absence, les servira chescun a couvert et a creance comme lon fait maintenant".

127. Amédée, Prince of Piedmont died in 1431. A list of the nobles present at Ripaille is given in Max Bruchet, *Le Château de Ripaille* (Paris, 1907) p. 93. According to Monstrelet, Henri de Colombiers and Claude de Saix remonstrated with the duke over his retirement, "qui n'estoit point bien licite comme il leur sambloit en lui disant qu'il pourroit estre desagreceable aux Trois Estas de son pays, pour ce que par avant ne les avoit mandes et eulx signifie son intencion", *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet* (ed.), L. Douet d'Arcq, tV, p. 112. The investiture of Louis as Prince of Piedmont and Lieutenant-General of Savoy was in no way an abdication of authority by the duke; according to Monstrelet the duke "lui bailla ... le gouvernement et administracion de ses pays en retenant plaine puissance de lui oster et de la remettre a son plaisir, se mal se gouvernoit", *ibid.*

128. *Statuta Sabaudiae* (Turin, 1487). The *Statuta* was the culmination of a series of statutes produced between 1402 and 1404, and 1423. In the compilation of those of 1430, Amédée was aided by a team of Savoyard and Piedmontese jurists, including Jean de Beaufort, Nicod Festi, Gian Filippo Solero and Antonio dal Pozzo.

129. L. Chevailler, in *Recherches sur la Reception du Droit Romain en Savoie* (Annecy, 1953), p. 112, maintains that the originality of the *Statuta* lies in Book 5. The influence may have come from Italy where sumptuary legislation was more common in the fifteenth century. In 1394 the Prince Louis d'Achaye had sought to introduce a law forbidding the wearing of pearls, silver and gold, but the commune of Turin, when consulted, refused, "diversi lasciaro a ciascuno piena balia di vestirsi e adornarsi come vuole e come porta lusanza", L. Cibrario, *Specchio Cronologico* (Florence, 1869). In France there were no comprehensive sumptuary laws, between those of Charles V in 1373 and Charles VIII in 1485.

130. Velvet involving the introduction of silver thread or silk, and usually patterned.

131. Statuta Sabaudiae, ut supra, "De statu domini et sue domus inclite".
132. Dubois, "Chronique de la Maison de Challant", (ed.), Lino Colliard, Archivum Augustanum, IV (Aosta, 1970), p. 37.
133. Statuta Sabaudiae, ut supra, Book 2, ch. 218. Under their command were the "maitres de sale", officers of the six "offices", physicians, falconers, etc., but not the secretaries, chapel, pages, women servants. Le Marquis Costa de Beauregard, Mémoires Historiques sur la Maison Royale de Savoie (Turin, 1816), p. 256, noted that after 1416, Amédée appointed Guillaume de Geneve, s^r de Lullins as "grand maitre d'hotel", Richard de Menthon as "grand chambellan", and Robert de St Severin as "grand ecuyer". The Statuta does not specify the number of "maitres d'hotel".
134. Towards the middle of the century, the number of chamberlains, noted as such in the accounts, appears to have increased. Six nobles are so identified between 1449 and 1451 (AST. Inv. 16, no. 98) and seven between 1459 and 1461 (AST. Inv. 16 no. 107). Dubois described Jacques de Challant as "second chamberlain" of the duke Louis, ut supra, p. 75.
135. These divisions are first expressly stated in the livery list of 1420 (AST. Inv 16, no. 66 f^o 593r^o).
136. Dubois, ut supra, p. 62, describes Jacques de Challant in 1434 as "grandement honnoure partout et acourt du conseil et relation escueyr d'escueyrie et dou tout gouverneur en habillemens et estat du prince Loys".
137. AST. Inv 16 no. 63 f^o 117v^o, July 1417; Inv 16, no. 70 f^o 142v^o, July 1423; Inv 16 no. 97 f^o 187r^o, as "conseiller et maitre d'hotel" Crescherel receives expenses for a trip from Turin to Lausanne to visit Amedee VIII; Inv. 16 no 99 f^o 307v^o.
138. AST. Inv 16, no. 62, f^o 127v^o, 145; Inv 16, no. 70, f^o 242; Inv 16, no. 75, f^o 219r^o.
139. Monstrelet described du Saix and Colombier as "deux nobles hommes de ses [Amédée's] plus feables et principaux gouverneurs", Chronique, tV, p. 111. AST Inv. 16 no. 64, f^o 297r^o, as Captain of Piedmont, Colombier was the duke's representative at the burial of the Marquis of Montferrat, 1418.
140. AST. Inv 16, no. 68, f^o 482, Dec 1421; Inv. 16, no. 72, f^o 288, 1427; Inv. 16 no. 78, f^o 217r^o, 1429. Ugo Gherner in Castelnuevo and Romano, Giacomo Jaquerio e il Gotico Internazionale (Turin, 1979), pp. 100-1.
141. "Chronica Latina Sabaudia", M.H.P. Scriptores, tI col. 614-5.
142. G. Chastellain in Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires (ed.) Buchon (Paris, 1837), p. 319.

143. Olivier de la Marche is quoted by E.H. Gaullieur, "Correspondence du Pape Felix V et de son fils Louis, duc de Savoie, au sujet de la Ligue de Milan (1446-9)", Archiv fur Schweizerische Geschichte, tVIII (1851), p. 362. La Marche continues, "J'ay bien sceu que si le Duc de Savoie eut ete bien actif ou bien servi, il eut en grande part eu la dite Duché... Mais le Duc fut homme de petit effect en armes parquoy il perdit cette bonne aventure". Dubois, Chronique de Challant, op. cit., p. 79.
144. Marie-José, Amédée VIII..., op. cit., tI, pp. 190-192 and J.H. Costa de Beauregard, "Souvenirs du Regne d'Amédée VIII, premier duc de Savoie", Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de Chambéry, 2^{es.}, tIV (1861), pp. 99-100.
145. A. Barbero, "Principe e nobiltà negli stati Sabaudi: gli Challant in Valle d'Aosta tra XIV e XVI Secolo" in "Familia" del Principe e Famiglia Aristocratica (ed.) Cesare Mozzarelli (Rome, 1989), p. 251. Barbero's important article points out that opposition to the prince came not only from peripheral nobility excluded from the court or its administration, "ma da uomini che godono della piena fiducia del principe, titolari dei più alti uffici tanto a corte, quanto nell'amministrazione locale".
146. Dubois, ut supra, p. 87. Describing Amédée's retreat to Ripaille in 1434, Monstrelet noted, "nonobstant que ledit duc de Savoie eust prins l'abit dessus dit et baille le gouvernement de ses pays a ses enfans ... si ne se passoit riens en ses pays de grosses besongnes que ce ne feust de son sceu et licence", Chroniques, tV p. 112. Louis also had to contend with his strongminded wife, Anne de Chypre, whose fellow countrymen and their progress at court was a major source of discontent. Chastellain reiterated a common complaint levelled against Louis, "et s'afemina avec ces Cypriennes, femmes du subtil art, qui l'endormirent; et autre tel faisoient les hommes de celle nacion, en qui mains il gisoit tout", ut supra, p. 319.
147. Dubois, ut supra, pp. 77-9; L. Marini, Savoiardi e Piemontesi nello Stato Sabauda 1418-1601 (Rome, 1962), p. 59. C. Buet, Les Favoris a la Cour de Savoie (Thonon les Bains, 1893), pp. 26 et seq. The rebels presented a written request to Charles VII complaining that "Mesire Jean de Compeys, Seigneur de Thorenc sans cause ne raison s'est travaillie de pourter et faire deshonneur et dommage a une partie des Nobles de Savoye", S. Guichenon, Histoire de la Bresse et de Bugey, (Lyon, 1650) tIV, pp. 26-7. Guichenon also gives a list of the 200 "chefs d'hostel" who had to swear to the Treaty of 1452, *ibid.* tI p. 80. The Treaty of Cleppe whereby Louis undertook to return their confiscated castles and possessions to the rebels was considered so humiliating by the Savoyards and Piedmontese, that Turin and other cities refused to recognise it.
148. R. Avezou, "La Decadence sous Louis 1^{er} et Amédée IX", Cahiers de Savoie, (1945), pp. 52-4; Buet, ut supra, pp. 48 et seq., quotes from a "Relation Manuscrit" written against Valpergue and preserved at Turin, "il vendait à son gré la justice et les charges: il devoit livrer a Louis XI les places fortes du pays: son insolence etait egale a sa cupidite; il detestait Philippe [sans Terre] et s'etait vanté de la rendre le plus pauvre de son lignage, et de lui faire porter des chausses trouées aux genoux".

149. G. Chastellain, ut supra, p. 318.
150. Dubois, op. cit., p. 75 and passim; Barbero "Principe e nobiltà negli stati Sabaudi ..." ut supra, pp. 263-4.
151. Avezou, ut supra., p. 59; Elia Colombo, "Iolanda, duchessa di Savoia", M.S.I., vol. 31 (1894), ch. 3.
152. Demotz, Brondy and Leguay, La Savoie de l'An Mil à la Réforme, op. cit., pp. 425-8.
153. On this development, see E. Dullin, Les Chatelains dans les domaines de la Maison de Savoie en deçà des Alpes (Chambery, 1911), pp. 46, 239. This had been a practice specifically forbidden by the Statuta.
154. "Registre des choses faictes par ... madame Yolant de France, duchesse de Savoie par le temps que elle a heu le gouvernement et administracion des personnes de messeigneurs et mesdamoysselles, Et de tous les pays et Seigneuries de Savoy", written by Jaques Lambert, councillor and "maistre des requestes" on the command of Duke Philibert, in Leon Menabrea, Chroniques de Yolande de France, Duchesse de Savoie, Soeur de Louis XI (Chambery, 1859), pp. 57-9.
155. Marie-José, Amédée VIII, Le Duc qui devint Pape, t2, p. 289 n.1, information drawn from the account of François Arrat.
156. AST. Inv. 16, no. 61, f^o 593, "Etrennes", 1415; Inv. 16 no. 79 f^o 163 "Livrée" 1433; Inv. 16, no. 94, f^o 235, "Etrennes" 1447; Inv 16, no. 107, f^o 365, "Etrennes" 1460; In the late 1460s there was initially a drop in numbers, 211 in 1466 (Inv. 16, no. 111 f^o 287) down to 154 in 1469 (Inv. 16 no. 115 f^o 107) rising again to 240 in 1476 (Inv. 16 no. 123 f^o 105 et seq.).
157. AST. Inv. 16 no. 123, f^o 110r^o.
158. AST. Inv. 16, no. 119, f^o 141r^o - these included a butcher and a poulterer as well as his governess and other nursery staff.

CHAPTER THREE: FOOTNOTES

1. Leon Costa de Beauregard, Souvenirs du Règne d'Amédée VIII (Chambéry, 1861) gives details on the campaign Amédée waged against the Milanese duke in 1426 and 1427 leading up to the treaty of December 1427 whereby Amédée lost a daughter and added Vercelli to his dominions. Costa provides a transcript of the trousseau of Marie de Savoie (AST. Inv 116, no. 73, f^o 301 v^o et seq) in Document no. 6, pp. 169-203.
2. Marie-José, La Maison de Savoie, op. cit., t2, p. 203 n.1.
3. AST. Inv. 16 no. 121, "Livrees faictes par ... L'evesque de Vercell messire Urbain Bonivard" amounts to 10691 florins 7 gros (f^o 61v^o), the "Rolle de Vauthier de Chignin", 10634 florins 2 deniers (f^o 66v^o).
4. AN. P1334⁵ f^o 146v^o and AN. K504 f^o22 - see also Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, t1, p. 233.
5. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3640 no 493, Quittance of Louis d'Orléans, dated Paris, September 1406, for the 15000 fr. d'or "pour nous aider a supporter les grans fraiz missions et despens qui nous convenoit faire pour nous abiller a estre aux noces et espousailles qui derrenierement ont este faictes en la ville de Compiengne ...".
6. BN. Ms. fr. 20586, piece 47, 16 May 1390, "pour lui aidier a supporter les grans frais missions et despens quil lui fault faire a soustenir presentement pour la gesine".
7. AST. Inv. 16, no. 79, f^o 393r^o, 29 July 1434.
8. AST. Inv. 16 no. 94, f^o 448v^o, 27 January 1446.
9. AST. Inv. 16, no. 94, f^o 447v^o, 17 January 1446 - Turbillion and Morel both received 6 florins, their annual salary being 10 florins, Inv. 16, no. 88, f^o 461v^o.
10. AST. Inv. 39 Mazzo 3, no. 11, f^o 21r^o, 1 May 1468.
11. BL. Add. Ch. 3137.
12. BN Ms. fr. 10431 no. 1510, 24 February 1396.
13. Archives, B-du-Rhône, B2510 f^o 33v^o, 5 florins "a la saige femme qui a receu lenffant de la femme thomas de senas", November 1479. One florin 11 gros was given "au chappellain qui a baptise l'enffant".
14. Archives, B-du-Rhône, B2483 f^o 22v^o, September 1478.
15. Archives, B-du-Rhône, B16, f^o 142r^o.

16. Archives, B-du-Rhône, B2510, f^o 33r^o, November 1479.
17. BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 1178, August 1396.
18. AN. P1334⁵ f^o 93, June 1451.
19. AST. Inv. 16, no. 122, f^o 118v^o, 127v^o, 183 et seq, 192 and 193.
20. Jeanne d'Ierville first appears in 1393 as the governess of "Loys monseigneur", BN. P. orig. 2153 no. 166.
21. AST. Inv. 16 no. 89, f^o 57 - household of the prince Amédée, his wife Yolande (both about 8 years old), Louis, Janus, Charlotte and the new born Aymon.
22. AST. Inv. 16 no. 119, f^o 141r^o, Jacques Louis was born in the summer of 1470.
23. André Joubert, "Le Mariage de Henri VI et Marguerite d'Anjou d'après les Documents publiés en Angleterre", Revue d'Histoire et Archéologie du Maine, vol. xiii (1883), pp. 312-332.
24. L. de Mas-Latrie, Histoire de L'Ile de Chypre (Paris, 1858-61), vol. 3, Documents, pp. 17-23, Report of the ambassadors of Savoy sent to Cyprus, 17 September - 16 November 1433. The original is held in AST. Arch. di Corte, Regno di Cipro, mazzo 1, no. 7.
25. The "Cypriots" were widely singled out by chroniclers as the root of the dissensions at court in the 1440s and 1450s. Dubois, Chronique de la Maison de Challant, op. cit., p. 77 added his voice:- "D'aulcuns du pais de Cipres, que la duchesse de Savoye avoit amene, voulurent estre avanciers et desadvancier les plus grans de court: dont ceulx qui soubsteingnent les Chippriens pour complaire a la dame furent de court, les aultres nobles furent debouttes". Those who took Anne's side were frequently called "Cypriots" whether they were or not.
26. Archives, B-du-Rhône, B219, Estat des gaiges et entretenement des gens de lostel du Roy.. 1481.
27. BN. P. orig. 2161 no. 731, "Gaiges paieez par maistre Jaques Demaulins maistre de la chambre aux deniers ... Aux gens et officiers dicelle dame Retenez pour le service d'elle et de messeigneurs ses enffans..", 1467.
28. AN. KK 48, f^o 22v^o for queen's household. He was later chamberlain to Louis de Guyenne and to the Duke of Burgundy, 1412, Bozzolo and Loyau, La Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI (Paris, 1982), p. 109.
29. Jean de Saquainville dit Saquet, seigneur de Blarru. In an "ordonnance" of 1409 he was named as one of the "generaulx conseillers juges et reformateurs par tout le royaume et Dauphiné", Famiglietti, Royal Intrigue, op. cit., p. 79.

30. Lacurne de St. Palaye, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, op. cit., t2, p. 216 et. seq.
31. Christine de Pizan in the "Livre des Trois Vertus" discussed in Kay Staniland, "Royal Entry into the World", England in the Fifteenth century (Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium) (ed.) Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, 1987).
32. AST. Inv. 16 no. 114, f^o 110v^o.
33. C.G. Carbonelli, Come Vissero i Primi Conti di Savoia da Umberto Biancamano ad Amedeo VIII (Casale Monferrato, 1931), p. 62.
34. AN. KK19 f^o 108v^o et seq - purchase of a number of tapestries from Nicholas Bataille.
35. BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 97 - the total costing over 5,020 francs.
36. BN. Ms fr. 10432 no. 1506, purchase of "cendaulx vers [cendal - a type of silk material] ... pour faire certaines chambres pour la prochaine gesine de madite Dame", also Ms. fr. 10432 no. 1577.
37. AST. Inv. 16 no. 69, f^o 56v^o.
38. AST. Inv. 16 no. 80, f^o 166r^o.
39. AST. Inv. 16, no. 116, f^o 185v^o, 14 May 1470, payment to Christopfle brodeur "pour fere l'arbre des rosiers Assis en brodeure sur la chambre de taffetas blanc et Rouge".
40. AST. Inv. 16, no. 80, f^o 166r^o.
41. AN, KK 272, f^o 14. For her "gesine" in 1390, Valentine Visconti purchased 38 ounces of pearls costing 288 francs, BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 97.
42. AST. Inv. 16 no. 80, f^o 166r^o - "la curtine dou mylieu des deux lix de ledicte chambre".
43. AST. Inv. 16 no. 114, "a Symonet le tapissier ... pour fournir le bourg (i.e. "bord") d'une couverte de parament quest de drap d'or", f^o 111v^o.
44. BN. P. orig. 2152, no. 97.
45. Archives du Loiret, Collection Joursanvault, 6J3:31, cushions made "lun pour le berssel abarsser le dit Loys et lautre pour le berssel aparez", July 1391- purchases for the birth of Louis d'Orléans.
46. BN. Ms. fr. 20586 pièce 50.

47. Archives Dept. de Savoie (Chambéry), Compte des Syndics, CC 18, f^o 41v^o-43r^o - "Expensis facte ad causam nativitatus primi geniti domini nostri ducis et Insignis joci Inde factis".
48. Ibid., CC19, f^o 22v^o-23r^o.
49. AST. Inv. 16 no 118, f^o 128r^o.
50. AST. Inv. 16 no. 94, f^o 266r^o - "200 croches pour tandre la salle comme aussi pour tendre le pavillion sus le baptestiere" and payment made to "Jullien, clerc de la chappelle, pour parer ung baptemtiere de boys", for the baptism of Jean Louis de Savoie on 3 March 1447. Inv. 16 no. 114, f^o 116v^o - "Ay livre a messire Mermet de Verchieres ausmonier pour les post et boes quil acheta pour fere ung aultier en la sale bosse du chastel de ceste ville de cagnian et ou lon chante la grant messe le jour que lon baptisa Charles monsieur", 7 May 1468.
51. Staniland, Royal Entry into the World, op. cit.
52. AST. Inv. 16 no. 116, f^o 189r^o.
53. F.M. Graves, Deux Inventaires de la Maison d'Orléans (Paris, 1926), Inventaire II, no. 328. The original is held in AN KK 258a, 4 December 1408. Staniland says that the royal custom in England was for the chrysom cloth to be pinned on the right breast of its bearer in the procession.
54. M. de Maulde de la Clavière, Procédures Politiques du Règne de Louis XII (Collection de Documents Inédits, Paris, 1885), p. 976. This information came to light during the inquiry held into the divorce of Louis and Jeanne de France.
55. Elia Colombo, "Iolanda, Duchessa de Savoie", M.S.I. (1894), no. 31, p. 86.
56. Staniland, Royal Entry into the World, op. cit., quoting the "Rationale of Ceremonial".
57. Archives Dept. de Savoie, CC 15, f^o 33r^o-34r^o. The representatives were accompanied by minstrels - 6 florins was paid to "Johannis Sallieti mimo .. pro se et aliis eius sociis mimis pro labore substento per eus festinando apud chamberiacum quam apud burgetum associando dominos burgenses dicte ville Ronem nativitatem et baptismatus predictus".
58. Maulde de la Clavière, Procédures Politiques..., op. cit., p. 976.
59. Max Bruchet, Le Château de Ripaille (Paris, 1907), Preuve XLIV. Fourteen minstrels gathered at Chambéry for the baptism, AST. Inv. 16 no. 39, f^o 158v^o. The food prepared for the banquet included 6 cows, 38 sheep, 4 pigs, 215 small chickens, 24 ducklings and 260 lb. of cheese, Carbonelli, Come Vissero i Primi Conti., op. cit., p. 115.

60. No records have survived covering the period of the births of the family of René d'Anjou and Isabelle de Lorraine.
61. The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, 1465-7 (ed.) Malcolm Letts (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 45-6.
62. BL. Add. ch. 2935, 18 January 1395.
63. Material of silk or satin base with a high metal content - either gold or silver - it is not clear whether this gold and silver was thread embroidered onto the material or actually in the weave - it may have been either: e.g. "50 taffetaz ou satins pour la chambre de Bateure" costing 400 francs, for the birth of Louis d'Orléans, 1390, BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 97.
64. Auguste Dufour et Francois Rabut, "Les Orfèvres et les Produits de l'Orfèvrerie en Savoie", M.D.S., lxxiv (1886), p. 445.
65. Lacurne de St. Palaye, Mémoires..., t2, p. 221.
66. AN KK 272 f^o 16v^o.
67. BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 101 "... pour un heaume pour la Jouxte aus Relevailles de ma dame de touraine", and BN. P. orig. 1843 (Marconnay) no. 11, list of items purchased by Louis d'Orléans' "escuier de corps", Enguerran de Marconnay for use at these jousts, mostly horse harness, Paris, 8 July 1391.
68. AST. Inv. 16, no. 89, f^o 90r^o, expenses of "10 habbis et 8 chappeaux" decorated by "Janyn le pintre de Geneve", November 1442.
69. The reasons for this delay, probably a combination of Valentine's youth and the turbulence of northern Italy which was only settled in 1389, has been the subject of considerable debate. Jules Camus, La Venue en France de Valentine Visconti, Duchesse d'Orléans (Turin, 1898), and Maurice Faucon, Le Mariage de Louis d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti (1882), both discuss the negotiations leading up to the marriage. The latter deals in depth with the slow payment of the dowry.
70. E.H. Gaullieur, "Correspondence du Pape Felix V et de son fils Louis duc de Savoie au sujet de la Ligue de Milan", Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte, t VIII (1851), p. 331.
71. Mas-Latrie, Histoire de L'Ile de Chypre, op. cit., p. 20 - presumably this entailed an inspection of the naked or semi-naked bride-to-be, though this was normally performed by women.
72. Ibid., p. 20.

73. Enguerran de Monstrelet, Chroniques, op. cit., tV, p. 439.
74. Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV, Comte de Foix, op. cit., chapter 8.
75. D. Chaubet, Une Enquête Historique, op. cit., p. 111.
76. Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre, Seigneur de Saint Rémy, (ed.), F. Morand (Paris, 1876-81), chapter CLXXX, pp. 291-297.
77. Ibid., p. 297.
78. Procès Verbal de la Célébration des Fiancailles de Henri VI et de Marguerite d'Anjou, in Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, op. cit., tII, p. 256.
79. Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV..., op. cit., p. 133.
80. M. Mugnier, "Lettres des Princes de la Maison de Savoie à la Ville de Chambéry, 1393-1528", M.D.S., t27, 2^e serie, tII (1888), p. 175.
81. Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 196, f^o 156r^o - from a report of the visit of the English embassy to Tours.
82. G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII (Paris, 1885), tIII, p. 103, of the Milanese report, he says "Evidemment le role politique du Roi René est ici tres exageré". The letter dated 26 May 1445 is transcribed in Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, op. cit., tII, Pièces Justificatives, no. 21, p. 257.
83. Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 196 f^o 156r^o.
84. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, op. cit., p. 293.
85. Ibid., p. 293.
86. AST. Inv. 16 no. 79, f^o 179r^o and f^o 176v^o.
87. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, op. cit., p. 297.
88. AST. Inv. 16 no. 72, f^o 279v^o, 315v^o-318r^o.
89. Monstrelet, Chroniques, op. cit., p. 440.
90. AST. Inv. 16, no. 79, f^o 193v^o.
91. Richard Firth Green, Poets and Princepleasers, Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages (Toronto, 1980), p. 170, quoting from F. Devon, Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III-Henry VI (London, 1837).

92. Abbé L. Marchal (ed.), La Chronique de Lorraine (Nancy, 1859), p. 63. Marie was the daughter of Jehan de Fenestrang, knight of the Crescent. Jean duc de Calabre attended the wedding which was particularly magnificent - for two days a fountain ran with red and white wine and claret.
93. BN. P. orig. 2156 no. 374. An example of the great monetary value put on clothes and observers' ability to calculate their worth at a glance is provided by Tetzels. Taken by the Duke of Burgundy on a tour of his treasury, he notes twelve little tunics "none worth less than 40,000 crowns" and "the hat which he [the duke] wears worth 60,000 crowns", The Travels of Leo of Rozmital..., op. cit., p. 28.
94. V. Gay, Glossaire Archéologique (Paris 1887-1929), describes the surcoat as "une piece du costume féminin de cérémonie: le corsage tres decoupe, sans manches, a gros boutons d'orfèvrerie et jupe trainante".
95. Statuta Sabaudiae, op. cit., Book Five, "De Statu sponsarum nubentum.." f^o lxxvi, v^o.
96. Costa de Beauregard, Souvenirs..., op. cit., p. 174.
97. Monstrelet, Chroniques, op. cit., p. 440.
98. AST. Inv. 16, no. 79, f^o 158r^o-161r^o.
99. Le Fèvre de Saint Rémy, op. cit., p. 289, "laquelle livree estoit robbes vermeilles, et dessus les manches ung estocq. ouquel estoc pendoit une plume d'austrie, faicte de brodure et d'orphaerie tres gracieusement".
100. AST. Inv. 16, no. 79, f^o 158v^o - "A Noblet tailleur ... pour deffaire et Reffaire troes Roubes de drap dor pour madame de geneve lesquelles elle avoet apporter de chippres...".
101. Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (London, 1908), p. 36.
102. J. Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité de L'Au-delà: Les Hommes, La Mort et La Religion dans la Region d'Avignon à la Fin du Moyen Age (c.1320-1480), (Ecole Française de Rome, 1980).
103. Guillaume Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 270.
104. These are titles of treatises to be found in BN. Ms. fr. 5323 and 5229. The best known is by Gilles, herald of Maximilian of Austria, written in 1481, BN. Ms. fr. 1280.
105. BN. Ms. fr. 23998, f^o 77v^o-79v^o, "Cy apres sensuivent comment les obsecques se doib vont fere" [15th c.].

106. Statuta Sabaudiae, op. cit., Book 5, f^o lxxviii, "De modificatione oblationum et aliarum solennitatum funeralium et sepulturarum in domo dominii".
107. Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité de L'Au-delà.. (op. cit.), p. ix.
108. Testament of Amédée VI, 27 February 1383, Guichenon, Histoire Généalogique, op. cit., tIV, Preuves, pp. 216-218.
109. Testament of Louis d'Orléans, 19 October 1403, F.M. Graves, Quelques Pièces Relatives à la vie de Louis 1 Duc d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa femme, (Paris, 1913), pp. 196-219. A manuscript version is to be found in BN. N. acq. fr. 7112 f^o 260 et seq.
110. Testament of René d'Anjou, 22 July 1474, in Dom A. Calmet, Histoire de la Lorraine, (Nancy, 1745-7), Preuves, tIV, Column DCLXXVI-DCLXXXV. Manuscript versions are Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B168 and B205, pp. 90-92. He made two previous testaments, 29 June 1453 and 14 July 1471. See Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, op. cit., t1, pp. 276, 382 and 391-2.
111. Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine par Jehan de Bourdigné (ed.), H. de Quatrebarbes, (Angers, 1842), p. 243.
112. René died on 10 July 1480 and was buried initially at St. Sauveur, Aix, on 14 July. The curious story of how his body and heart were spirited out of Aix, by passing them off as a wardrobe of clothes and material, and transported secretly to Angers (the bearers were advised, "qu'on ne loge point en bonne ville, mais es bonnes hosteleries, hors de ces villes") is told in the "Procès-verbal de la Translation du Corps du Roi René" of Jehan du Pastis and Jacquemin Mahiers, extracted from the registers of the chapter of St. Maurice, Angers and published in René d'Anjou. Oeuvres complètes (ed.), H. de Quatrebarbes (Angers, 1844-46), t1, pp. 119-123. Quatrebarbes also gives a transcription of the "Programme des Obsèques du Roi René" from the same source, t1, pp. 124-125. The contribution of Louis XI to the organisation of the obsequies is mentioned in Balthasar de Hirttenhaus' "Procès-verbal de L'Ensevelissement du corps du Roi René, 26 Octobre 1481", Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône B168; Quatrebarbes, t1 pp. 126 et seq, and Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, t2, Pièces Justificatives 93, pp. 387-394.
113. Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres complètes, op. cit., p. 124.
114. AST. Inv. 16 no. 111, f^o 314r^o. Glaude or Claude de Seyssel, seigneur d'Aix, Marshall of Savoy and knight of the Collar, "magnus magistrus hospicii" to Louis duke of Savoy and his son Amédée IX, until his death c.1473.
115. AST. Inv. 16 no. 117, f^o 108r^o.

116. AST. Inv. 16 no. 121 f^o 53v^o.
117. Testament of Louis d'Orléans, Graves, Quelques Pièces, op. cit., p. 200.
118. De Thoiry received 500 livres tournois, out of an agreed 1500, from the duke's Treasurer General, Pierre Renier. The contract is dated 26 February 1409 (n.s.), BN. N. acq. fr. 3640 no. 520.
119. AST. Sezione di Corte, Testamenti, Mazzo 3, no. 10, Testament of Amédée VIII, 6 December 1439. The relative simplicity of Amédée's directions regarding his funeral most likely stemmed from the announcement of his election to the Papacy just a month previously, 5 November.
120. Bourdigné, Chroniques d'Anjou, op. cit., p. 243.
121. Louis II d'Anjou stipulated that his body was to be buried in St. Maurice, Louis III, only his heart, while his body was to rest in Naples. See Marcelle Reynaud, "Foi et Politique: Autour de la Mort des Princes d'Anjou-Provence", Provence Historique, t36. fasc. 143, Jan-March 1986. Reynaud's article concentrates on the pious bequests contained in the testaments of particularly Louis I, Louis II and Louis III.
122. Françoise Robin, "La Politique Religieuse des Princes d'Anjou-Provence et ses Manifestations Littéraires et Artistiques, 1360-1480", in La Littérature Angevine Médiévale (Angers), 1981, p. 162.
123. Louis de Farcy, Le Tombeau du Roi René à la Cathédrale d'Angers (Lyon, 1910), includes a sketch of his impression of the tomb based on the agreement of 31 August 1450 with the sculptor Jean Poncet, although more recently Françoise Robin has been unconvinced by his interpretation, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence (Paris, 1985), pp. 231-254.
124. Letter of Antonio de Appiano, written on 1 April, the day of Amédée's burial, Elia Colombo, "Iolanda, Duchessa di Savoia", Misc. di Storia Italiana, 31, 1894, pp. 72-73. On 7 April the duke was informed, "Trovamo che per la morte glie successa tanto subita et repentina, non ha possuto fare alchuno testamento", *ibid.*, p. 72.
125. Quatrebarbes, Procès-verbal de la Translation., op. cit., p. 122.
126. Testament of Louis d'Orléans, Graves, Quelques Pièces, op. cit., pp. 199 and 201. Froissart, Chroniques, op. cit., t9, p. 288.
127. Bernard, son of Amédée and Yolande, was born at Pinerolo on 4 February and died the same year on 3 September 1467. AST. Inv., 16, no. 113 f^o 134v^o.

128. AST. Inv. 16 no. 118, f^o 221v^o-224r^o. Each "grande messe" cost 2 fr. 6 gros and each "messe basse" "quatre quinzaines".
129. AST. Inv. 16, no. 61, f^o 611v^o-612r^o, 24 men were paid 4½ florins for ringing bells in churches throughout the town, the bishop of Maurienne officiated and 1648 poor received alms.
130. Calmet, Histoire de la Lorraine, op. cit., each is to be paid "sans delay, en la maniere en tel cas coutume".
131. Graves, Quelques Pièces..., op. cit., pp. 199 and 201.
132. AST. Inv. 16, no. 55, f^o 449r^o, Anthoine was born in March 1408 and died on 12 December. Amédée VIII's first son was also called Anthoine but he^{had} died the previous year.
133. AST. Inv. 16, no. 94 f^o 496. When Louis the eldest son of Amédée, prince of Piedmont and Yolande, died in December 1454, 20 clergy were present at the burial, Inv. 16, no. 102, f^o 239r^o.
134. AST. Inv. 16, no. 94, f^o 489r^o-492r^o. Philippe died on 3 March 1444 and was buried on 5 March.
135. Joel Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise: the Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485 (London, 1972). Chiffolleau describes the efforts of the testators of Avignon to improve their chances in Purgatory in similar economic terms - "La Comptabilité de L'Au-delà".
136. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o101.
137. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 57.
138. Leon de Menabrea, Chroniques de Yolande de France, duchesse de Savoie (Chambéry, 1859), Pièces Justificatives, I, pp. 54-5. Preparing for his compilation of a new chronicle Perinet Dupin, betrays a similar preoccupation with the visiting dignitaries. At the funeral of Amédée VIII, he asks, who were among "la noblesse assemblée pour le corps accompagner en sa dernière maison ... et se en toutes ces choses ot nulle seigneurie estrange et les noms des estrangiers", Daniel Chaubet, "Une Enquête historique en Savoie au XVe siècle", Journal des Savants (1984), question 53.
139. Dubois, Chronique..., op. cit., p. 40.
140. Colette Beaune, "Mourir Noblement à la fin du Moyen Age", in La Mort au Moyen Age, Colloque de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes Français, (1977), t25, Collection: Recherches et Documents, p. 128.

141. AST. Inv. 16 no. 98 f^o 356r^o et seq. Account of Jacques Megnier, Treasurer General, of the expenses of the burial at Haultecombe.
142. AST. Inv. 16 no. 117 f^o 108r^o - "Les traictes faictes pour la sepulture de montresredoubte-seigneur ame duc de Savoye le quel alla de vie a trapasement au chasteaul de verceil le londi xxx Jour du moys de mars ... devers matin entre dix et onze heures au grant Reloge Et lequieul a este enseveli audit lieu de verceil ... le mercredi ensuyvant premier Jour du moys d'avril...".
143. AST. Inv. 16, no. 128 f^o 75v^o.
144. AST. Inv. 16, no. 126 f^o 185r^o.
145. AST. Inv. 16, no. 128 fo 75v^o.
146. The "sepulture" which was the ceremony of commemoration was separate from the burial service (variously called "sevelliment", "interramentum" or "intumulacione" in the accounts of Savoy). The holding of a lavish "sepulture", running from several months to a year after burial, was the custom in Savoy for both the counts and dukes and their vassals. Funeral solemnities were focussed on the "sepulture", thus Dubois notes that at Boniface de Challant's burial in 1426 his cousin Francis and other members of the de Challant clan were present, but at his "sepulture" in 1430 were Amédée VIII, the Marshal Manfroy de Saluces and "daultres seigneurs comment tout l'ostel de Challant et du pays d'envyron". Dubois, op. cit., p. 40. A rare example from northern France was the memorial service held for Bertrand Du Guesclin at St. Denys in 1389, some nine years after his death.
147. AST. Sezione di Corte, Testamenti, Mazzo 3 no. 10.
148. Bonne was affianced to François de Dreux, c^{te} de Montfort in 1427, but died before the marriage. Nevertheless, in the accounts she is consistently designated "Comtesse de Montfort".
149. AST. Inv. 16 no. 117, f^o 112v^o.
150. AST. Inv. 16 no. 98, f^o 356v^o.
151. Bellaguet (ed.), Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denys (Paris, 1840), t3, p. 737.
152. Journal de Nicolas de Baye (ed), A. Tuetey (S.H.F., 1885), t1, p. 207. De Baye's entry on 24 November was suitably macabre - "Cedit jour est alee la Court a l'enterrement de feu messire Loiz de France, germain du Roy, le quel hier au soir estoit environ viij heures duc d'Orléans et de moult d'autres terres, et maintenant cendre et pourreture, et le quel est enterre aux Celestins delez S. Pol", ibid., p. 208.

153. "Procès-verbal de l'Ensevelissement.." in Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t2, p. 388. According to the "Procès-verbal de la Translation", the lead coffin was also opened at Aix where it was noted that the king's face "n'etoit en rien deformee, decheuste ou empiree", Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres Complètes, op. cit., t1, p. 123.
154. BL. Add. ch. 2114.
155. Graves, Quelques Pièces, op. cit., pp. 198-9.
156. Leon de Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne (Paris, 1852), t111, p. 281 no. 6306 - extracted from AN KK 348, Compte de l'execucion du testament de Philippe, C^{te} de Vertus.
157. Graves, Quelques Pièces, op. cit., p. 199.
158. Colombo, M.S.I. op. cit., p. 73.
159. Michele Vovelle, La Mort et L'Occident de 1300 à nos jours (Paris, 1983), p. 153.
160. A.N. Galpern, "Late Medieval Piety in 16th century Champagne", in The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, (eds), C. Trinkhaus and H.A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), p. 149.
161. F.L. de Villeneuve-Bargemont, Histoire de René d'Anjou (Paris, 1825), vol. 3, p. 168 - quoting Galaup de Chasteuil.
162. Chaubet, Enquête Historique, op. cit., p. 120.
163. AST. Inv. 16 no. 94, f^o 496r^o-500r^o for what follows.
164. AST. Inv. 16 no. 94 f^o 489r^o-493r^o. Six monks from Haultecombe came out to meet the body "per dimidiam lucam per supra lacum"; a total of 242 priests, friars and monks were present on the actual day of burial plus the friar who gave the sermon.
165. J. Calmette, "Louis XI, Jean II et la Revolution Catalane", Bibliothèque Méridionale, 2e serie, tVIII (Geneva, 1977, reprint), pp. 315-316.
166. Pierre Marot, Recherches sur les Pompes Funèbres des Ducs de Lorraine (Nancy, 1935) quoting the "Chronique de Lorraine" which gives another account of the funeral proceedings, pp. 7-8. The "Chronique" account suggests the Jean de Calabre's body was displayed during the procession "vestit de chemise blanche, chausses noires et pourpoint de velours assy de broudequins [a type of shoe] robe de velours noir, une barett e sur sateste".

167. Monstrelet vol. 1 (1858), ch. 36, p. 160.
168. BN. P. orig. 2161 no. 725-8; a transcript is given in J. Roman, "Compte des Obsèques et du Deuil de Charles, duc d'Orléans-Valois", Société de l'Histoire de France, Annuaire Bulletin, 1885, pp. 228-247. Pierre de Bourbon became Duke of Bourbon on the death of his brother Jean in 1488.
169. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., pp. 390-394. Once the cortege had arrived at the cathedral, the mendicants and representatives of the other churches dispersed to celebrate masses "o grant sollemnite", while in the cathedral they began vespers and the "vigilles de mors".
170. Religieux de Saint Denys, op. cit., t6, pp. 489-95.
171. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., p. 391. According to the "Programme des Obsèques", Quatrebarbes, op. cit., p. 125, the argument lasted the entire route ("maximum scandalum et confusionem fecerunt") so that the malefactors were warned not to attend the procession which would escort the heart to St. Bernard's the next day.
172. BL. Add. ch. 26 044A, Expenses of Jacques Francueur, cleric, 28 January 1465 - "A Estienne jobert macon et trois manœuvres pour avoir racque par trois jours a depaver en leglise fait et creuse la fosse ou repose le corps dudit feu monseigneur vuide les terres et portees hors de leglise aide a mettre et haller ung engin sus les voultres pour dessendre ledict corps en la fosse..".
173. Ibid. - "A guillemin Couse menuisier pour huit journées d'ouvrier faictes par lui et ses gens a faire la chappelle chandeliers sepulture et aultre menus choses pour lesdictes obseques...". In 1420, Pierre Bardot and four fellow masons spent one day "a faire les pertuys es murs et pilliers de l'eglise Saint Sauveur, de Blois, pour y mettre chandeliers de boys, a mettre cierges le jour dudit obseques" of Philippe de Vertus, Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, op. cit., t111, p. 278, no. 6285.
174. In 1473, 2599 florins were spent on a quantity of silks, satins and velvets for three sets of vestments, "chappes, chasubles, dyacres, et soubdiacres", for use at memorial services at Vercelli, Geneva and Pierrechastel, AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 53v^o-54v^o.
175. Calmet, Histoire de la Lorraine, op. cit. col. DCLXXVII.
176. Archives B-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o 90-95.

177. De la Marche, op. cit., t11, p. 389.
178. Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, op. cit., t111, p. 282, no. 6311.
179. AST. Inv. 16 no. 117, f^o 109r^o - 8 large escutcheons of "bature" [silver or gold leaf] were placed around the coffin of Amedee IX, and for placing on the 4 large candles at each corner of the bier, and a further 8 on the "chappelle ardente".
180. There were so many candles and torches in the Sainte Chappelle, Bourges on the occasion of Jean, duke of Berry's obsequies, that the stained glass windows were removed, F. Lehoux, Jean de France, Duc de Berri, Sa Vie, Son Action Politique (1340-1416), t3, p. 412. At the funeral of Pierre de Beaujeu in 1503 there were as many as 1450 candles, and through lack of air the doors were left open, C. Beaune, "Mourir Noblement", op. cit., p. 137.
181. Statuta Sabaudiae op. cit., Book V, p. LXXVIII.
182. Graves, Quelques Pièces, op. cit., p. 200.
183. AST. Sezione di Corte, Testamenti, Mazzo 3, no. 10.
184. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 59v^o-60r^o.
185. AST. Inv. 16 no. 88, f^o 211r^o- 1442.
186. AST. Inv. 16, no. 75, f^o 188v^o.
187. AST. Inv. 16, no. 55, f^o 449r^o.
188. AST. Inv. 16, no. 102, f^o 239r^o.
189. AST. Inv. 16, no. 123, f^o 65v^o.
190. AST. Inv. 16, no. 128, f^o 99v^o.
191. AST. Inv. 16, no. 128, f^o 98v^o.
192. AST. Inv. 16, no. 12, f^o 278v^o.
193. BN. Ms. fr. 10432, no. 117, payment for candles and torches; no. 227, payment to Colart de Laon for 50 escutcheons for torches, no. 378; 10 francs to Jean Prieur, Dominican for saying vigils; no. 625, 10 francs for vigils and solemn mass at the Franciscans in Paris; no. 632, 10 francs to the Austin Hermits of Paris for the same.
194. BN. Ms. fr. 10432, no. 827.
195. Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV..., op. cit., p. 271.
196. Heraut Gilles, Traite de l'office d'armes et de noblesse (BN. Ms. fr. 1280) quoted in Beaune, "Mourir noblement", op. cit., p. 137.

197. Graves, Quelques Pièces..., op. cit., p. 200.
198. Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, op. cit., t111, p. 278, no. 6284.
199. De la Marche, op. cit., t11, p. 389.
200. Ibid., t11, p. 391.
201. Laborde, op. cit., t111, p. 278, no. 6287.
202. Beaune, "Mourir Noblement...", op. cit., p. 129 and Graves, Quelques Pièces, op. cit., p. 199.
203. AN. KK 19, f^o 103v^o. Ralph E. Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva, 1960), sought to dispel the "great many errors [which] have arisen regarding the origin of funeral effigies" and gives a useful discussion on the difference between the "representation" as effigy and as "festive coffin only", pp. 85 et seq.
204. Archives B-du-Rhône, B2510, f^o 63.
205. BL. Add. ch. 26044A.
206. AST. Inv. 16, no. 117, f^o 109r^o.
207. AST. Inv. 16, no. 88, f^o 186v^o.
208. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 55r^o.
209. Beaune, "Mourir Noblement...", op. cit., p. 132.
210. De la Marche, op. cit., t2, p. 390.
211. Marot, Pompes Funèbres des Ducs de Lorraine, op. cit., a transcription of the report of the funeral is given in the Appendix, pp. 125-135, whose introduction reads, "S'ensuyvent les ordonnances en ordre des vigilles services et obseques garde au trespas de ... René II ... jadis observe et garde a la mort de tres puissant et illustre princes et duc de Lorraine, marchiis, Jehan, premier de son nom, Charles, premier dece nom, René, premier du nom, Jehan deuxieme du nom, Nicholas, premier du nom..." [i.e. Jean, duke of Lorraine, died, 1382, Charles, duke of Lorraine, died 1430, René d'Anjou, Jean de Calabre, and Nicolas de Lorraine, died 1473]. This long tradition back to 1382 seems highly unlikely given the complex ceremonial of 1508, Renaissance in style.
212. AST. Inv. 16, no. 126, f^o 186.
213. AST. Inv. 16, no. 111, f^o 316v^o, "... deux aulnes de taffetas blanc ... duquel fut faicte une crois blanche sus ladicte couverture de velloux noir...", 1465, funeral of Louis duke of Savoy.

214. BN. P. orig. 2161, no. 725.
215. "Procès-verbal de la Translation..", Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres Complètes.., op. cit., t1, 121.
216. AST. Inv. 16, no. 61, f^o 611r^o.
217. AST. Inv. 16, no. 92, f^o 266r^o.
218. AST. Sezione di Corte, Testamenti, Mazzo 3, no. 10.
219. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 54v^o-55r^o.
220. AN KK 248, f^o 29r^o.
221. Statuta Sabaudiae op. cit., Book Five, p. LXXVIII v^o.
222. AST. Sezione di Corte, Testamenti, Mazzo 3, no. 10.
223. Archives Dept. du Loiret, 6J9: 10, "Compte des depenses faite per Hugues Perrier pour le diner des obseques du comte de Vertus".
224. M.G.A Vale, "Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480", Borthwick Papers, no. 50, 1976, p. 24.
225. AST. Inv. 16, no. 75, f^o 190v^o - each person given one quarter of a gros totalling 3 deniers.
226. AST. Inv. 16, no. 35 f^o 64v^o - total given - 44 sols 8 deniers.
227. AST. Inv. 38, no. 74, f^o 161v^o - 1 denier to each poor person.
228. AST. Inv. 16 no. 118 f^o 221v^o - "ung quinzaine" to each, amounting to 182 francs 3 gros.
229. AST. Inv. 16 no. 88 f^o 211r^o - total given - 75 florins 9 deniers.
230. Juvenal Santiago, Les Funerailles Princières en France: Bourgogne et Orléans, 1465-68 (Thèse: doctorat de troisième cycle, Paris IV, 1981), p. 80.
231. Calmet, op. cit., col. DCLXXVIII.
232. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 53v^o-66v^o.
233. Graves, Quelques Pièces.., op. cit., pp. 200-201.
234. The presentation of the "pièces d'honneur" normally occurred at the offertory of the final Requiem Mass on the day of burial or "sepulture".

235. Beaune, "Mourir Noblement." op. cit., p. 139. Beaune uses the example of the treatise of the Herald Gilles as her model, but prior to the production of such treatises, there was evidently a degree of diversity in the number of achievements offered and the manner in which this was done.
236. BN. Ms. fr. 23998, f^o 77v^o.
237. Orphee Zanolli, Les Testaments des Seigneurs de Challant (Aoste, 1974), no. xxx, pp. 275-6.
238. When Amédée VIII ceased to be Pope at the end of the Schism, in 1449, he was made Cardinal of Sabine.
239. The text of this testament is transcribed in César Duval, Ternier et Saint-Julien (originally Geneva, 1879: Laffitte Reprints Marseille, 1977), Appendix 1. Costa de Beauregard, Souvenirs du Règne d'Amédée VIII, premier Duc de Savoie (Chambery, 1861), called it "un monument remarquable des mœurs de cette époque, où l'expression d'une foi sincère s'alliait sans scrupule aux écarts les plus étranges de la vanité".
240. Statuta Sabaudiae op. cit., Book Five, "De modificatione oblationum et aliarum solennitatum funeralium et sepulturarum..", f^o LXXVIII v^o.
 In 1415 Amédée VIII had himself been responsible for the organisation of a magnificent commemoration at Chassaigne for his former governor, Oddon de Villars, sire de Baux. 466 florins were spent on banners, pennons, standards and horse trappings purchased at Lyons, including 120 florins for buying back the 10 horses offered at the service. 1357 chaplains, monks and mendicants, 11 bishops and abbots and 1236 poor attended. AST. Inv. 16, no. 61, f^o 582r^o-583r^o.
241. Samuel Guichenon, Histoire de la Bresse et de Bugey (Lyon, 1650), t111, p. 28.
242. François Capré, Traite Historique de la Chambre des Comptes de Savoye (Lyon, 1662), pp. 38-40, "Modus offertuae fiendae in sepultura Illustrissimi Domini nostri Domini Amedei VI, Comitiss Sabaudiae".
243. AST. Inv. 38, no. 74, f^o 161.
244. AST. Inv. 38, no. 74, f^o 161r^o and Capre, op. cit., p. 38, "Premierement l'on offrira la banniere de nostre Dame et de meurera a la offerte jusques a tant que tout l'a offerte soit faite, la offriront deux Chivaliers".
245. In 1250, the abbot of St. Maurice d'Agaune presented Pierre II of Savoy with the saint's ring, with the proviso that it should always remain with the counts of Savoy. Guichenon, L'Histoire de la Maison de Savoie (1778 ed.), t11, p. 73, given a copy of this donation.

246. AST. Inv. 16, no. 92, f^o 267r^o - "... a Aymonet larmoyer pour une espee lequelle fust offerte aultecombe pour monditseigneur le Jour dudit sevellement", 1445, obsequies of Philippe de Genève.
247. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 66r^o.
248. Ibid., and in 1392 for Amédée VII were prepared "cohoperture quinze magnorum equorum et quinque tunice viridis due banderie colarium domini et duo estandardi tam nodorum quam falconis" (the falcon was the count's personal device), AST. Inv. 38, no. 74, f^o 161r^o.
249. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 66r^o - "deux timbres dargent burny et les testes et yelles [i.e. "ailes" - wings] du timbre faictes dor garny". The timbre or "lambequin" offered at the sepulture of Amedee, prince of Piedmont, was decorated by Jehan Bapteur - "ung lambequin pour mettre dessus le heaume tout seme de petites croysetes de bature, Item mes la teste dou lyon toute dor bruny ... deux elles dor fin bruny a plumes Releves dune part et dautre de 2 piez et demy de lon et l grant pie de large" AST. Inv. 16, no. 77, f^o 148.
250. AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o 55r^o. Four knights dressed in black closed the offering at the memorial held at St. Denis for Bertrand Du Guesclin in 1389, Religieux, op. cit., T1, pp 599-604. One of the horses to be presented at the "sepulture" of Jean de la Baume was to be ridden by a knight "habille de grosse Estoffe noire pour representer, un homme de dueil", Guichenon, Histoire de la Bresse..., op. cit., T111, p. 28.
251. AST. Inv. 16, no. 92, f^o 264r^o-265v^o.
252. AST. Inv. 16, no. 65, f^o 353r^o.
253. AST. Inv. 16, no. 92, f^o 265.
254. R.C. Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the later Middle Ages", in Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death, (ed.), Joachim Whaley (London, 1981), p. 45.
255. Chiffolleau believes the custom of black mourning spread from the north of France southwards, La Comptabilité de L'Au Delà. op. cit., p. 141. He also quotes the example of Pierre de Luxembourg who refused the black pall on his coffin and asked that his household dress in coarse white material. Louis d'Orléans also expressed that his household should wear brown or tan as his father's had done on his death, Graves, Quelques Pièces..., op. cit., p. 201.

256. For example, Las Siete partidas recommended that young men wear gay colours - red, bright yellow, green or purple - "to make them joyful" as black or dull brown would make them sad, Roger Boase, The Troubadour Revival, (London, 1978), p. 40.
257. Peirinet du Pin, Chronique de Savoie, (ed.), F.E. Bollati de St. Pierre, (Turin, 1893), ch. 26.
258. Archives B.-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o 95.
259. BN. P. orig. 2161, no. 725-8.
260. AST. Inv. 16, no. 117, f^o 89v^o.
261. AST. Inv. 16, no. 68, f^o 221r^o-223r^o.
262. Millard Meiss, "La Mort et l'Office des Morts à l'Epoque de Boucicaut et des Limbourg", Revue de L'Art, vol. 1-2, 1968, pp. 17-25, contains a number of illuminations showing mourners in full robes, poor torchbearers in robes down to mid-calf, gathered around the "chappelle ardente" above the "representation".
263. Lacurne de St. Palaye, Mémoires sur L'Ancienne Chevalerie, (Paris, 1759), t2, pp. 254-259.
264. Statuta Sabaudiae, op. cit., Book Five, f^o. LXXVII-LXXVIII.
265. AST. Inv. 16, no. 117, f^o 86v^o.
266. AST. Inv. 16, no. 117, f^o 88v^o. Miniver or black lambswool were most commonly used to line mourning garments. Alienor de Poitiers remarks "le gris est oste et ne voit oncque le blancq", op. cit., p. 256. Jehan de Thonon, the furrier, used 200 miniver skins to line the robes of Marie and Louise, "et aleve desdits manteaulx tout le noyer et ny a laisse que le blanc".
267. BN. P. orig. 2161, no. 725.
268. AST. Inv. 16 no. 111, f^o 314r^o-v^o.
269. AST. Inv. 16, no. 111, f^o 314v^o-315r^o.
270. AST. Inv. 16, no. 111, f^o 315.
271. BN. P. orig. 2161, no. 725-8. Santiago, Les Funerailles Princières., op. cit., pp. 90-92, divides the household into four groupings according to the cost of the material, but he has sometimes used the cost of the lining rather than the cloth used for the robes themselves, as a guide, which has altered his results.
272. BN. P. orig. 2161, no. 725.

273. AST. Inv. 16, no. 117, f^o 87r^o.
274. Archives, B.-du-Rhône, B2512, f^o64.
275. AST. Inv. 16, no. 115, f^o 172v^o. Marie, daughter of Amédée VIII, was the wife of Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan.
276. Statuta Sabaudiae op. cit., f^o LXXVII v^o - LXXVIII r^o.
277. The duke of Orléans entered Paris on 31 August 1414 along with Louis, king of Sicily, the duke of Bourbon and counts of Vertus and Alençon according to the Religieux de Saint Denys, op. cit., tV, pp. 148-50. See also R.C. Famiglietti, Royal Intrigue, op. cit., p. 134, for a discussion of the events between the assassination of 1407 and Agincourt, when the Armagnacs played a pivotal role in French politics. In June 1420 when the queen Isabeau de Bavière welcomed the English king at Troyes, Philip of Burgundy, who had lost his father, accompanied them on horseback wearing a mourning cloak which was so long that "seant dessous ledit coursier qui moult estoit haut, le robe battoit a terre", M. Beaulieu and J. Baylé, Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire, (Paris, 1956), p. 119.
278. Statuta Sabaudiae op. cit., Book Five, f^o LXXVIII r^o.
279. BN. Ms. fr. 23998, f^o 78v^o.
280. Aliénor de Poitiers, op. cit., p. 256.
281. BN. P. orig. 2161, no. 728.
282. AST. Inv. 16, no. 118, f^o 126-127.
283. AST. Inv. 16, no. 118, f^o 224v^o.

CHAPTER FOUR: FOOTNOTES

1. A. de la Sale, "Des anciens tournois et faictz d'armes" in Traité du duel judiciaire, relations de pas d'armes et tournois: par Olivier de la Marche, J. de Villiers, Hardouin de la Jaille, Anthoine de la Sale (ed.). B. Prost (Paris, 1878), p. 202. La Sale's treatise, dedicated to Jacques de Luxembourg, was written around 1458.
2. Ruth Harvey, Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World (Oxford, 1961), p. 167.
3. See Keen, Chivalry, p. 13, for a discussion of Charny's works and his belief that the best knights were those who had progressed from listening to tales of heroic deeds as children to the serious business of war via the joust.
4. A. de la Salle, Little John of Saintré, (transl.) I. Gray (London, 1931).
5. BN. P. orig. 2154 no. 263-266 and BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 581, receipt of the painter Colart de Laon, 24 April 1398, "pour cause de harnois de joutes qui furent livres aux Ecuyers dudit seigneur quand ils jousterent dernièrement a St. Pol... (et).. pour avoir blanchi deux ou trois fois et avoir ramende lesdits harnois parceque lesdits Ecuyers firent leurs assais plusieurs fois..".
6. AST. Inv. 16 no. 92 f^o 275r^o - "trois payres de lices pour la Joust et furent mises les unes en la Rivere quant Joustarent les pages de monditseigneur contre ceulx de Jehan dallion, les Aultres audit lieu quant Joustat mons^r le prince Et les aultres en la fusterie quant Joustarent les Juennes chivalliers et escuyers de lostel de monditseigneur". This last is a very rare example of the future Amédée IX, the then Prince of Piedmont, participating in a joust at the youthful age of ten.
7. See below, p. 158
8. Ramon Lull, quoted by R. Boase in The Troubadour Revival, p. 44.
9. Jehan de Saintré provides numerous examples of the importance of largesse - "and there was not one among them but gave unto the other ... gifts of rings, cloth of gold or of silk, chamber hangings of tapestry, coursers, hackneys, gold plate and many things more", op. cit., p. 207.
10. Diaz de Gamez, The Unconquered Knight, p. 135.
11. AST. Inv. 39, no. 4, f^o 39-41.

12. Chastellain, quoted by Pierre Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans, 1394-1465 (Paris, 1911), p. 317.
13. Bibliothèque de Lyon, Ms. 1359-1360, "Raccolta di diverse feste, corse, corriere, campi aperti, carrosselli, tornei, barriere, balli, balletti et mascherate, fatte dai reali conti et duchi di Savoia dall' anno 1000 sin al 1662", f^o 23-24.
14. AST. Inv. 16 no. 68 f^o 388v^o et seq., includes the expenses of Janin de Champeaux for the carriage of harness, saddles and fourteen dozen lances from Chambéry "pro Josta". AST. Inv. 16 no. 69 f^o 254 records the purchase of substantial quantities of satins, taffetas, velvets and brocades in Geneva, amounting to 2580 escus, to clothe the ducal family and a select number of the major nobles, for "les Joustes faictes A la venue de mons^r de bourgoignie".
15. The chronicler greatly enjoyed the spectacle of the fighting dogs and bears: "et estoit grand passetemps de voir que l'ours ne pouvoit mordre les chiens par ce que le mastre [i.e. master] qui les avoit en gouvernement leur avoit froite les dents de vitriol mesle avec certain medicament si fort astringent qu'ils n'avoyent aucune puissance de mordre...". In Shakespeare's Henry V, he makes reference to the reputation of the English fighting dogs: "That island of England breeds very valiant creatures: their mastiffs are of unmatchable courage", Act III, Scene VII.

Combats of animals for courtly amusement were not unusual. The Burgundian accounts record purchase of "deux tors vifs... et iceulx fait mettre ou parc et fait combattre a l'encontre desdiz lyons, pour son deduit, lesquelz tors par lesdiz lyons furent estranglez et tous devorez", Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, t1, p. 223 no. 726. Villeneuve-Bargemont alludes to the combat at Arles before Louis II d'Anjou, of a lion and a bull in 1400, and a lion and a ram two years later, t1 p.244.
16. Letter from Zannone Corio to the Duke of Milan, 4 February 1466, quoted in Elia Colombo, Iolanda, Duchessa di Savoia, p. 11.
17. "Chronica Latina Sabaudia" in MHP Scriptorum, t1 col. 640.
18. Olivier de la Marche, Mémoires, p. 378 et seq. and Dubois, Chronique du Challant p. 63-73. De Compeys was involved in a joust with the Sicilian Giovanni de Bonifaccio at Turin in 1449 "pour la gloire des armes", at which Louis de Savoie presided as judge. The combats lasted three days, fought with the axe, the dagger and the lance, ending with the sword on the last day. Compeys was announced the champion. Guichenon, Histoire de Savoie, t11, p.511.

19. For Bayard's early career at the court of Savoy see, Camille Monnet, Bayard et la Maison de Savoie (Paris/Turin, 1926).
20. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, Chronique, t1 pp. 122-3 and Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, p. 58. It is evident from surviving documents, that Charles spent a considerable amount of time and money in the preparation of his retinue for these jousts: his goldsmith and "valet de chambre" Aubertin Boillefeves fashioned silver belts, buckles and other items for his harness (BN. P. orig. 2606, no. 52 and 53) and the armourers, marshalls, stable valets, pages and gentlemen who attended him were clad uniformly in "vertbrun de Moustiervillier", a highly prized woollen cloth (see Beaulieu and Baylé, Le Costume en Bourgogne, p. 25). The twelve gentlemen who bore his lances ("qui nous servirent de lances") were dressed in white with silver embroidery, while Charles and his brother Philippe wore houppelandes whose sleeves were "chargees d'orfèvrerie en manieres de fleurs blanches et cheynectes d'argent pendant a icelles" (BN. P. orig. 2157 no. 496 and 498).
21. Philippe Contamine, "Les tournois en France à la fin du Moyen Age", in Das Ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter (ed.), Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen, 1985), p. 439.
22. These are described at length in Froissart, Chroniques, tXIV, p. 20 et seq. For those at St. Denis, the best study to date is M. Barroux, Les fêtes royales de Saint-Denis en mai 1389 (Paris, 1936).
23. Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denys, t1, pp. 566-7, "He took part too often in tournaments and other military games, something his predecessors refrained from doing once they had been anointed".
24. E. Jarry, La Vie Politique de Louis de France, Duc d'Orléans, p. 47.
25. For this early period I would disagree with Claude Ribéra-Perville. Louis' residence in the Hotel de Bohème dates from the mid 1390s onwards after much of the renovation and refurbishment of the palace to Louis' high standards had taken place, "Aspects du Mécénat de Louis 1^{er} d'Orléans" in Jeanne d'Arc: Une Epoque de Rayonnement, Colloque d'Histoire Médiévale: Orléans, 1979 (Paris, 1982).
26. An example of Louis d'Orléans' own high spirits is given by Jarry, ut supra, p. 47 - one evening he had "rampu et despecie" a minstrel's lute, for which the minstrel was given 10 francs.
27. Christine de Pizan, Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy Charles V, t11, p. 28.

28. Froissart, Chroniques, tXIV, p. 37. Juvenal des Ursins was equally scathing at a later date, "Le duc d'Orléans, frere du roy, se gouvernoit aucunement trop a son plaisir ... Mais il avoit jeunes gens pres de luy et aussi les vouloit-il avoir, qui l'induisoient a faire plusieurs choses que, bien adverty, il n'eust pas fait".
29. Froissart, Chroniques, tXIV, p. 80.
30. BN. Ms. lat. 14669 f^o 101v^o.
31. Archives du Loiret, 2J18:1 and BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 94. On 19 December 1397 Doubit Prezibilz, described as "echanson du duc" was given 100 francs d'or in the presence of his valet Jeannin "qui entendoit mieux le françois que son maitre", BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 2306. Other variations on his name are "Prybee dit Petit Dobit", On 7 January 1398 he is called "ecuyer du roy", BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 2445. It seems to have been common practice to split the knights and squires, with perhaps a "melee" involving both, on a third day. In his "Balade du Tournay" Deschamps writes "Le secont jour joustent li escuier", Oeuvres Complètes (ed.) Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1891), t7, pp. 48-9.
32. BN. P. orig. 1843 no. 11, Louis orders his "valet de chambre" Jehan Poulain to reimburse his "escuier de corps" Enguerran de Marconnay, for several items purchased by the latter "aux joustes qui ont este faites aux Relevailles de notre treschere et tresamee compaigne la duchesse", Paris 8 July 1391 and P. orig. 2152 no. 101 - "un heaume pour la Jouxte aus Relevailles de madame de Touraine".
33. BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 156-158.
34. BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 101-2. This dates Montagu's wedding to July rather than June as Contamine states in Les Tournois en France, op. cit., p. 425 "Par la main de messire Philippe de Florigny pour donner et distribuer aux heraux et menesties qui furent en lostel de monseigneur le xxiiii^e jour de Juillet et Jour de noces de Jehan de Montagu".
35. Diaz de Gamez, The Unconquered Knight, p. 142.
36. Deschamps, Oeuvres Complètes, t1, p. 222.
37. Louis lent 20,000 ducats to the Duke of Bourbon and 10,000 to Enguerrand de Coucy, Jarry, La Vie Politique, p. 55.
38. Immediately on their return from the Barbary crusade, a large number of Louis' knights took part in a Prussian campaign "contre les ennemis de la sainte foy chrestienne". These were all given a lump sum prior to their departure and included Jean de Trie (300 francs), Enguerrand de Marconnay (120 francs), Guiot de Roussay (100 francs) and Robert de Machaut (100 francs), BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 81. On his return to Paris in April 1391, Jean de Trie, ducal chamberlain, was given 4,000 francs d'or /

- 38 d'or "par consideracion des tres grans fraiz despenses et contd missions qu'il a eu et soustenuz en plusieurs et grans voyages qu'il a faiz tant en Barbarie et en Pruce contre les ennemis de la sainte foy crestienne que ailleurs". BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3638 no. 140. Yvonnet de Vieuxpont who had the misfortune to be taken captive during this expedition was well supported by the duke, given 2,000 fr. d'or in 1395 "pour lui aider a paier sa Rancon ou paiz dalemaigne ou il a este longtems prisonnier", BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3638 no. 247.
39. Louis covered Coucy's costs in part and paid the expenses of a number of his household accompanying the sire de Coucy. In April 1396 Louis ordered 1450 francs to be distributed to those "qui se proposent d'aller en hongrie a l'aide de dieu en la compaignie de beau cousin de coucy" including Louis de Giac, Guiot de Roussay, Robert de Machaut, Jean de Montigny "dit friant" and Geoffrey de Luyeres, BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 834. After Nicopolis, Louis undertook to secure the ransom of a number of French survivors. Jean de Garençières was dispatched to Milan and Venice to secure their aid, BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 1585.
40. BL. Add. ch. 47, receipt dated 14 June 1400.
41. Louis had a special collar made to wear for the occasion, BL. Add. ch. 3088.
42. Leroux de Lincy, "Trois ballades de Christine de Pisan, sur le combat de sept Français contre sept Anglais en 1402", Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, t1 (1839-40), pp. 376-388.
43. Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Histoire de Charles VI (ed.), Godefroy, (Paris, 1614), pp. 184-6; Jarry, La Vie Politique, p. 285. Five of the seven were Louis' chamberlains, de Villers was his maitre d'hotel and all were young. Barbazon persuaded the duke to let Guillaume de la Champaigne take part although he had "not yet been blooded in war".
44. Leroux de Lincy, ut supra, p. 379.
45. Ibid., pp. 379-380.
46. Monstrelet, Chronique, t1, pp. 43-67. Henry makes a number of accusations against Louis, namely that the only reason for his eagerness to make alliance with Henry had been "pour la malveillance que vous aviez a vostre dit oncle de Bourgogne" and also that even after Henry had become king, Louis had sent one of his men to him with the promise of friendship and support, pp. 60-61.
47. Diaz de Gamez, The Unconquered Knight, pp. 150-153. Guillaume de Chastel, one of the seven victors of Montendre, died in 1404, Juvenal des Ursins, Histoire de Charles VI, p. 197. Most interestingly, Diaz de Gamez notes that one of the first actions of the king was to remove the devices from the fourteen aspiring combatants.

48. Ordonnances des Roys de France, (Paris, 1755), t9, pp. 105-6, "Lettres portant defenses de faire des Joustes ou Faits d'armes". Jean de Garencières, junior, was chamberlain to both Louis and his brother. A poet of some talent he led an active military life. As a young man he appears as one of the "Chevaliers du Roy du Soleil d'Or" and then takes part in the Barbary Crusade. He was killed at Agincourt at the side of Charles d'Orléans, Y.A. Neal, Le Chevalier Poète: Jean de Garencières (Paris, 1953). Raoul de Boqueux, likewise Louis' chamberlain, remained faithful to the Orléanist cause after 1407 and was named as one of the 12 knights appointed to serve Charles d'Orléans in 1409, AN K 56 no. 24. François de Grignaulx, chamberlain, was still in Orléanist service in 1418, BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3642 no. 719.
49. Mathieu d'Escouchy, Chronique, t1, p. 107.
50. Coulet, Planche and Robin, Le Roi René..., p. 164.
51. O. de la Marche, Mémoires, p. 378 et seq.
52. R. L. Moulhierac-Lamoureux, Le Roi René ou Les Hasards du Destin, pp. 93-4.
53. René d'Anjou, Traité, p. 10.
54. Dubois, Chronique du Challant, p. 63. According to Dubois who was probably present at Dijon with his master, de Challant earned universal praise, everyone talked of his "estat, vaillance et liberalité.... Mais eust suffit a un seigneur prince le train et conduict quil tenoit en monstrant l'ostel dont fust party".
55. Martorell and de Galba, Tirant Lo Blanc, pp. 327-8.
56. A. de la Sale, Jehan de Saintré, p. 202.
57. A. de la Sale, Des Anciens Tournois..., pp. 216-7.
58. Both Keen, Chivalry, pp. 210-211 and R. Barber and J. Barker in Tournaments (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 186, note the similarity of both René and la Sale's lists of the reproaches with contemporary German manuals such as Ruxner's Turnierbuch. This is not surprising as René openly admitted to drawing heavily on German sources in the compilation of his Traité.
59. Vulson de la Colombière, Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur, p. 83. Similar volumes were to be maintained by the King at Arms of the Order of the Crescent to record "les bienfaicts et promesses que par la prud'hommie et vaillance de leurs corps aut este et seront faicts jusques a leurs trespas", Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine, tLV, col. cci.
60. A. de la Sale, Jehan de Saintré, p. 150.

61. Dubois comments with pride on the lavishness of Jacques de Challant's disbursements at the "Pas de l'Arbre Charlemagne", "es heraulx promptetez et menestriers et teles manieres de gens a tous largement, en tant que la dispense ne fust pas petite", Chronique du Challant, p. 73. After Saintré's "pas d'armes", he presented Garter, King-at-Arms with his best surcoat and horse trappings. La Sale, Jehan de Saintré, p. 207. There were certain perquisites attached to the herald's office - the 82 aulnes of cloth stretched the length of the lists at a tournament held on the "place du chasteau de Pinerolo", in May 1467, were given to the two heralds, "Savoie et Pienont", AST. Inv. 16 no. 113, f^o 119r^o.
62. A. de la Sale, ut supra, p. 294.
63. AST. Inv. 16 no. 46, f^o 86r^o, Bourg-en-Bresse, 26 January 1402.
64. AN P1334¹⁴, f^o 167v^o. On 10 June he was given 10 escus, "de ce que Il a seiourne et demorer a tharascon par x Jours entiers".
65. BN. P. orig. 2152:102, expenses of July 1390.
66. AST. Inv. 16 no. 68, f^o 260v^o and f^o 395v^o.
67. M. Wade Labarge is not alone among historians when she comments that René was "far more interested in ceremonial, decor and costumes than the actual combats which were meant to be the reason for tournaments", Medieval Travellers (London, 1982), p. 170.
68. Sidney Anglo, "Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield, June 1467", The Guildhall Miscellany, 2 (1965).
69. Barber and Barker, Tournaments, pp. 197-205 quote extensively from this most interesting work.
70. René d'Anjou, Traité, pp. 34-5.
71. O. de la Marche, Mémoires, ed. Petitot, t1 p. 330.
72. BN. Ms. fr. 1974 and T. de Quatrebarbes, René d'Anjou. Oeuvres Complètes, t11, p. 64. For the most recent discussion on the treatise, see Le Livre des Tournois du Roi René (Paris, 1986) with an introduction by François Avril who, on the basis of watermark evidence, ties its production to 1460 and therefore after Anthoine de la Sale's treatise.
73. René d'Anjou, Traité, p. 9.
74. As well as enabling the expulsion of miscreants, the helm show facilitated the identification of individual knights in the midst of the melee, a problem we can appreciate from the illuminations of the melee in the Traité (e.g. BN. Ms. fr. 2692, f^o 67v^o - 68r^o).
75. According to the Traité, p. 46, "nul ne doit etre battu en tournoi sinon par l'avis et ordonnance des juges, et apres que la cas, bien debattu et tire au clair, ait ete juge tel qu'il merite punition: mais alors le medisant doit etre si bien battu que ses epauler s'en seulent tres bien, et de telle maniere qu'une autre fois il ne parle ou medise si deshonnêtement des dames qu'il a coutume". Tafur remarks that once the knight had been beaten, the older knights and ladies approached him and informed him of the reason, after which he was allowed to partake in the tournament, Barber and Barker, Tournaments, pp. 66-7.

76. Barber and Barker, *ut supra*, p. 67.
77. Charles VII, of course, had been brought up since the age of ten and his engagement to Marie d'Anjou, with René and Charles and their elder brother Louis and throughout his youth and early adulthood benefited from the firm guidance of Yolande d'Anjou. Charles du Maine made his first appearance in the King's council at a very tender age, in 1423, and René in 1429, Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII et ses Conseillers, 1403-1461 (Paris, 1859), pp. 6 and 14.
78. The entry into Rouen took place on 10 November after its successful liberation from the English. Descriptions of the event have been left by Mathieu d'Escouchy, *tl* pp. 234-9, and in Martial d'Auvergne's Vigiles de Charles VII. Preceding the king's guard in the procession were 100 or so archers belonging to René and his brother, those of the former "moult bien habillez" in the king's livery colours of grey, white and black.
79. For both kings it was a period of renaissance. Charles VII was rejuvenated by his new mistress, Agnes Sorel, one of Isabel de Lorraine's ladies in waiting, forming yet another link between the two courts. René was enjoying a freedom of action and an absence from war he had not known for many years.
80. Behind the revolt of the citizens of Metz lay a number of grievances, including a considerable sum of money owed them by the Dukes of Lorraine. The campaign lasted the winter of 1444-1445, Lecoy de la Marche, *tl*, pp. 233-6.
81. Mathieu d'Escouchy, Chronique, *tl*, p. 42. In his "Lettre sur les Tournois", Anthoine de la Sale informs us that the jousts lasted four out of the eight days, Misrahi and Knudson, in their introduction to their edition of Jehan de Saintré, xii.
82. Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV..., *tl*, p. 147. Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale, pp. 64-67, provides a useful discussion of the colour schemes, devices and materials chosen by the participants at Nancy.
83. "La Declaracion du Pas a l'Arbre d'Or" in F.H. Cripps-Day, The History of the Tournament in England and in France (London, 1918), App. vi, lvii.
84. Leseur, *ut supra*, *tl*, pp. 150-2. From what is known of Charles's character, his participation must have been from a sense of obligation, rather than his personal enjoyment of the joust. Philippe de Mézières gave the following advice to his father, "s'il venoit aucun roy ou tres grant prince estrange pour toy visiter, ou aucunes grans nopces et sollennelles, que tu ne peusses bien joster quatre ou cinq lances pour la compaignie honnourer..".

85. Jean de Bueil, "Le Jouvencel", quoted in A. Plaisse, Un chef de guerre du XV^e siècle, Robert de Flocques (Evreux, 1984), p. 15.
86. Vulson de la Colombière, Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie, pp. 91 and 99. At the Emprise de la Gueule de Dragon held near Chinon in 1446, a "pas d'armes" often attributed to René's patronage though no positive evidence points to this, the king made a similarly dramatic appearance clad all in black armour, black lance, black shield sewn with gold tears and a black horse trapping, *ibid.*, p. 82.
87. The phrase is Leseur's, *op. cit.*, p. 133, "Nancy, la ou se devoient trouver tous seigneurs et toute la noblesse de France".
88. The original sum of the ransom had been set at 400,000 escus. At Châlons, by an act of 5 July 1445, a compromise was reached which favoured René, reducing the total by 80,600, Lecoy de la Marche, *tl*, pp. 247-8. "Par la requeste et a la faveur du Roy de France ... et pareillement la Royne de France a laquelle le Roy de Secile estoit frere, vindrent et se conclurent de faire traicte final et aimable lung avec l'autre par le moien duquel ladicte duchesse accorda et promist de le faire ratifier a son dit seigneur et mary, avec ledit Roy de Secile et lui quitta plainement tres grant somme de deniers", Mathieu d'Escouchy, Chroniques, *tl*, pp. 47-8.
89. Mathieu d'Escouchy, Chroniques, *tl*, pp. 50 and 45 - "Et comme il estoit lors assez commune renommee, ledit Roy de Secile et aultres seigneurs de sa partie estoient assez enclins et desirans que on recommencast de rechief la guerre contre icellui duc de Bourgogne".
90. Aliénor de Poitiers, "Les Honneurs de la Cour", *op. cit.*, *t2*, pp. 197-199.
91. Leon de Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, nos. 1174 and 1365.
92. A. de la Sale, "Des anciens tournois et faictz d'armes", *op. cit.*, p. 216, and Leseur, *op. cit.*, *tl*, p. 134.
93. The accounts of all three courts, Anjou, Orléans and Savoy, for example, refer almost exclusively to "jousts", though it would certainly be unwise to interpret this literally.
94. A useful discussion of foot combats in the fifteenth century "pas d'armes" is contained in J.-Pierre Jourdan's thesis, Pas d'armes et tournois dans le royaume de France et le Duché de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle (Paris IV, 1981), pp. 54-58.
95. A. Planche, "Du tournoi au théâtre en Bourgogne: le Pas de la Fontaine des Fleurs à Chalon-sur-Saône, 1449-50", Moyen Age, 81 (1975), pp. 111-112.

96. J.-P. Jourdan, *ut supra*, p. 53.
97. Curial and Guelfa, (trans.) Pamela Waley (London, 1982), p. 50. According to Jourdan, the joust in the fifteenth century moved from an "exercice essentiellement militaire" to an "ecole d'adresse", *ut supra*, p. 92. At Nancy, Pierre de Brézé was criticised for jousting against Charles VII with too solid a lance ("si gros boys") rather than a lighter one more suitable to courteous combat, particularly against one's monarch, Leseur, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
98. Mathieu d'Escouchy, Chroniques, t1, pp. 108-9. Louis de Bueil, one of the participants of the Pas de la Joyeuse Garde, was the brother of Jean de Bueil, author of "Le Jouvencel". Louis' violent end during the jousts at Tours may account for his brother's critique of jousts and tournaments in "Le Jouvencel".
99. Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 63.
100. La Sale, "Des anciens tournois et faictz d'armes", *op. cit.* p. 216 and Leseur, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
101. La Sale dedicated his work "La Salle" to his new master. Louis de Beauvau's poem "Le Pas de la Bergière" is likewise dedicated to Louis de Luxembourg, whom its author describes as "En feste, en joust, en armes a outrance, De los, de pris, d'estre preux et expert", Quatrebarbes, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
102. Described by an anonymous poet as "Aussi courageux qu'Hector, aussi sage que Nestor et meilleur capitaine que Cesar" (Plaisse, Robert de Floques, p. 11), Brézé was at the height of his popularity with the king in 1445. After Agnes Sorel's death in 1449, he was somewhat distanced from the court. Chastellain's comment is quoted in Lecoy de la Marche, t1, p. 343.
103. Lecoy de la Marche, t1, p. 105 and p. 238.
104. Both Philippe and his elder brother Thierry gave René many years of service. Thierry stood caution for René in 1436, and at the other end of his career, fought alongside René II de Lorraine at the battle of Nancy. In the 1440s and 1450s Philippe was "escuier d'escuierie" and then "Grant escuier d'escuierie" in René's household, accompanying his king on the Guyenne campaign and Jean de Calabre on his campaigns to recover Sicily. Leseur, *op. cit.*, t1, p. 159: Villeneuve-Bargemont, t2, p. 298.
105. Mathieu d'Escouchy, t1, p. 40.
106. Leseur, *op. cit.*, t1, p. 146 - "A l'autre bout de la lice ... avoit un gros et hault pilier vert, auquel estoit attache ung papier cloue audit pilier, portans les chappitres desdittes joustes". On the "perron" see S. Anglo, "L'Arbre de chevalerie et le perron dans les tournois", Les Fêtes de la Renaissance (eds.) J. Jacquot and E. Königson (Paris, 1975), t3, pp. 283-98, and M. Keen, Chivalry, p. 205.

107. Leseur, op. cit., t1, p. 148.
108. Leseur, op. cit., t1, p. 147.
109. G. Duby, The Age of the Cathedrals (London, 1981), p. 269.
110. Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2481, f^o 13r^o.
111. Ibid., B 2481, f^o 21r^o.
112. Ibid., B 2482, f^o 8 and B 216 f^o 17v^o. This Charles du Maine is not René's brother but his nephew and heir. The French styles worn at the mid fifteenth-century court of Anjou appear in the illuminations of René's work Le Coeur d'Amour Epris, illuminations, executed under his guidance. See facsimile edition, with introduction by Marie Thérèse Gousset, Daniel Poirion and Franz Unterkircher (Paris, 1981).
113. AN, P 1335/133, Inventaire du Château d'Angers, 1471, f^o 20.
114. Gousset, Poirion and Unterkircher, ut supra, facing p. 12.
115. J.-P. Jourdan, Pas d'Armes et Tournois.., p. 86. Nothing more survives of this "pas" than the letters of its challenge, which cite Guy de Laval, seigneur de Loué and Bertrand de Beauvau, sire de Precigny, as its two judges. René's accounts relating to April 1453 allude to "joustes faicte devant Casenove", Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479, f^o 90v^o.
116. Launay was bought from Bernard in July 1444 for 4000 livres. Extensive reconstruction work began on the house in 1447. Henri Enguehard, Roi René (Angers, 1975), p. 81; Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence, p. 95; Lecoy de la Marche, t2, p. 47.
117. Among those present at Saumur were the comte de Tancarville, the comte de Nevers, Poton de Xaintrailles, Jaques de Clermont, bailli de Caen, Philippe de Culant Maréchal de France, and his nephew Charles de Culant - "grand maitre de maison du roi", Anthoine de Prie, "Grand queux de France", the comtes de Dampmartin and d'Evreux and the comte de Dunois. A significant number of these were also to be found at the jousts at Tours organised by Charles VII in February 1447.
118. AN. P 1334¹⁴ f^o 150v^o - 30 July 1448 - "A monseigneur de Lone xxxv f^o A luy ordonnez par chacun mois pour converthir et emploier en la peinture de la grant Salle de Saumur pour le pas dudit lieu".
119. F. Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence, p. 49. Robin has had access to the manuscript of the poem, dedicated to Charles VII, relating the events of the "Pas de Saumur", now in Leningrad. A shortened version of this is to be found in BN. N. acq. fr. 22756, f^o 271-292 and was transcribed by Vulson de la Colombière, Le Vray Théâtre 'Honneur et de Chevalerie, pp. 83-106.

120. Vulson de la Colombière, *ut supra*, p. 84 and p. 88.
121. Robin, *ut supra*, p. 49.
122. Courteault places the "Pas de la Joyeuse Garde" in April 1446 and the "pas" at Razilly in June. His argument hinges on a missing chapter from Leseur's chronicle which he believes described the "pas" at Saumur, *op. cit.*, t1 p. 195 n.4. De Beaucourt also placed Razilly in June, but Saumur much later.
123. Leseur, *op. cit.*, t1, p. 171. The poem contained in the body of Leseur's chronicle, displays a muddled chronology which does not help us pinpoint with certainty the date of Razilly or Saumur, placing the jousts at Tours (February 1447) before those at Razilly/Chinon and Saumur.
124. Mathieu D'Escouchy, Chronique, t1, p. 108.
125. This is an interesting example of the truth being distorted to present an idealised and selective version of the event. Perhaps Vulson de la Colombière was correct in ascribing the poem's authorship to an abbot.
126. La Sale, Jehan de Saintré, p. 203.
127. Mathieu D'Escouchy, Chronique, t1, p. 107.
128. O. de la Marche, Mémoires, t2, pp. 118-123.
129. M. Keen, Chivalry, p. 93.
130. The following information is drawn from Vulson de la Colombière, *ut supra*, pp. 83-4 and BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 22756 f^o 273-274. Juliet Barker cites the instance of William Montague's tournament at Cheapside in 1331, where the sixteen tenants paraded through London clothed and masked in the guise of Tartars, Juliet R.V. Barker, The Tournament in England 1100-1400 (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 98.
131. An inventory of the castle at Tarascon in 1457 indicates a copy of the Lancelot, Robin La Cour d'Anjou-Provence, p. 42. No complete inventory of René's library has survived but there is enough material to suggest that he favoured religious and philosophic works.
132. AN. P 1334¹⁴, f^o 26, f^o 170 and f^o 35v^o.
133. Lecoy de la Marche, t2, p. 151.
134. Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale, p. 141. Archives Bouches-du-Rhône B 2483 f^o 9r^o records the baptism with René's name of 'ung turc qui scet parler tous langaiges'.
135. The Travels of Leo of Rozmital (ed.), M. Letts (Cambridge, 1957), p. 69.

136. Mathieu D'Escouchy, Chroniques, t1, p. 108.
137. M. Keen, Chivalry, p. 204.
138. Barber and Barker, Tournaments, p. 120.
139. O. de la Marche, Mémoires, t2, pp. 123-201.
140. The Travels of Leo of Rozmital, p. 67. Laurana's medal, cast in 1461, is now held by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. Triboulet was a microcephalic. Maurice Lever, Le Sceptre et la Marotte, p. 116, translates his name as "shaky head" ("cervelle branlante").
141. Bruno Roy, "Triboulet rencontre la Mort" in Le Sentiment de la Mort au Moyen Age, pp. 272-5. Roy describes the "Complainte" as "a major document on death and folly and on their inevitable meeting".
142. N. Jorga, Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces: études historiques et littéraires (St. Denis, 1893) Appendix, p. 177.
143. Servion, Geste et Chroniques, t2, p. 80. From surviving evidence in the household accounts, E. Cox has been able to date this tournament, where Amédée VI is reputed to have earned the soubriquet of the "Green Count", to January or February 1353, Bourg-en-Bresse, The Green Count, pp. 362-364. Servion places it in May and at Chambery and the tournament he describes follows a familiar format, lasting three days and ending with a "mêlée" on the third, each day rounded off with banquetting, dancing and the distribution of prizes.
144. Tirant lo Blanc, op. cit., p. 328.
145. Deschamps, "Balade du Tournoy", quoted in G.A. Grapelet, Le Pas d'Armes de la Bergère maintenu au Tournoi de Tarascon (Paris, 1835).
146. Leseur, op. cit., p. 145.
147. J:P. Jourdan, Pas d'Armes et Tournois..., pp. 86-7. Challenges such as this are normally couched in the language of the romances with the "damsel in distress" playing a prominent role. That of "La Belle Morienne" indulges rather less in the Arthurian pastiche of the "Declaracion du pas a l'arbre d'or".
148. Ruth Cline, "The Influence of romances on tournaments of the middle Ages" Speculum, 20, (1945), p. 209.
149. A. de la Sale, Des anciens tournois et faictz d'armes, p. 214.
150. Dubois, Chronique du Challant, p. 65.

151. Leseur, op. cit., p. 169. The judges "gens gracieux et saiges" consult with the ladies "pour faire honneur aux dames et les contenter".
152. Vulson de la Colombière, Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur..., p. 104.
153. Rene d'Anjou, Traité, p. 64. The women have a larger say at the "helm show" in the cloisters (pp. 45-6) where they have the responsibility of indicating knights who have spoken ill of ladies and thereby may not partake in the tournament. Nevertheless, the malefactor may only be beaten "par l'avis et ordonnance des juges, et apres que le cas, bien debattu et tire clair, ait ete juge tel qu'il merite punition".
154. "Le Pas de la Bergière" in Quatrebarbes, Oeuvres, p. 64. For what follows see pp. 71-74. Robin, La Cour d'Anjou, dates Beauvau's poem to shortly after 1449, p. 175. However, internal evidence shows that it must have been written after 1453, for its author mentions that the "pas" was cried by "Romarin, lequel en son vivant, Et moult longtemps a este poursuyvant". Romarin makes his last appearance in the household accounts in May 1453 (Archives, Bouches du Rhône, B 2479, f^o 101). Where Beauvau may be checked against the household accounts, he is remarkably accurate.
155. "Quatre cannes de damas gris donne par ledit S^r a Ysabeau de Lenoncourt pour faire sa Robe de pastourelle" and "trois pieces descarlade pour fer le chapperon de la pastourelle", AN. P 1334¹⁴, f^o 167v^o. In the accounts the "pas" is referred to as "de la Pastourelle" rather than "de la Bergière".
156. R. Cline, "The Influence of romances on tournaments", op. cit., p. 210.
157. M. Keen, Chivalry, p. 94.
158. Joan Evans, Art in Medieval France (Oxford, 1969), p. 183.
159. A. de la Sale, Des Anciens Tournois..., p. 197.
160. C.A.J. Armstrong, "The Golden Age of Burgundy", in The Courts of Europe (ed.), A.G. Dickens, p. 57.
161. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, p. 131.
162. Robin, La Cour d'Anjou-Provence, p. 115.
163. Robin, in Le Roi René: Le Prince, le Mécène, l'Ecrivain, 1^{er} Mythe, p. 99.
164. D. Poirion, "Le Miroir Magique", one of the essays in the facsimile edition of Le Coeur d'Amour Epris, p. 26.
165. M.G.A. Vale, Charles VII (London, 1974), p. 97.

166. Elia Colombo, "Re Renato Alleato del Duca Francesco Sforza contro i Veneziani", ASL SER III, tI (1894), pp. 397-8, Letter to Sforza from Angelo Acciaiuoli, 17 June 1454, "Ma so vi dire per cosa certa che il re de Franza se scorzato et col re Renato et con tutti i suoi che veneno con lui di qua, et maledetto il di che il re Renato naque, .. et hora cerchava ricoprire le colpe sue con dire male di Fiorentini et del duca".
167. Louis de Beauvau was alone responsible for eleven combats, Cossa and Ferry de Lorraine, seven each.
168. The other members present at Saumur were Jean de Beauvau, Guillaume de Meuillan, Jean de Fenestrange Marshall of Lorraine, Guichart de Montberon, Jean du Plessis dit le Begue and René himself.
169. Leseur states that Jean de Lorraine and Louis de Beauvau made up the four "qui tenoint les rens a tous venans" with the seigneur de Janly and a knight from the Ardennes, op. cit., p. 175. Philippe de Lenoncourt was badly injured at Nancy - the comte de Foix "enleva en son cours de pointe de lance ledit de Lenoncourt et par dessus les arcons et la croupe du cheval, il le porta pendu a sa lance plus d'une grande lance loings tout envers au milieu de la lice, si estourdy qu'il demeura la grand piece qu'il ne savoit s'il estoit en ciel ou en terre; et l'en convint porter au pavillon et pensoit on qu'il fut mort" - this effectively accounts for his absence from Chalons, Leseur, p. 160.
170. Also present at Tours were Philippe de Lenoncourt, Guichart de Montberon, Hardouin de la Touche, later councillor and chamberlain to René and Jacques de Clermont, Leseur, op. cit., p. 197.
171. Carrion first appears in Isabelle de Lorraine's household in 1444, BN. Ms. fr. 7853 p. 1157. He is "valet tranchant" in 1451, when in June and August he is given money to support and arm himself for the Guyenne campaigns, Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 30v^o and f^o 48r^o. His is a career which does not seem to have continued into the 1470s when household accounts again become available for René's court.
172. Described as "Mareschal des Fourriers" in 1451, Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 41r^o, Honnorat de Berre carved out a distinguished career in René's service, his chamberlain by 1469, *ibid.*, B 2491 f^o 11v^o, and latterly "grant maistre dostel, conseiller and chambellan" from 1477, *ibid.*, B 2498 f^o 7r^o. After René's death he served as ambassador and chamberlain to Louis XI and Charles VIII.

173. Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 30v^o and f^o 48r^o; B 2491 f^o 11r^o where he is first described as holding the offices of councillor and chamberlain: B 16 f^o 90v^o, 8 September 1470, he is granted the office of "garde de la tour de Masseille" vacant on the death of Ferry de Lorraine.
174. Son of Jean Cossa. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 30v^o and B 2491 f^o 11r^o. René's phrase complimenting Cossa, comes from his letter to the deputies of Catalonia of March 1471 recommending his "magnifich e amat conseller et camerlench... desiia que sia ben tractat de vos altres", Lecoy de la Marche, tll, p. 345, Pièces Justificatives no. 75.
- Others participating in the "pas" were Philibert de la Jaille, brother of Hardouin author of a "Formulaire des Gaiges de Bataille" (1483) in Prost, Traicté de la Forme et Devis comme on faict des Tournois; Philibert d'Estainville from Lorraine, bailli de Bar in 1476; Anthoine de Ponteves seigneur de Chabannes; Jehan Beuzelin dit Jarret. Beauvau's poem mentions Robert du Fay, the later "maitre d'hotel" of René II, duke of Lorraine, but it is more likely to have been Louis du Fay, described as René's "escuier d'escuierie" between 1449 and 1451, Archives Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479 f^o 10v^o. In June 1449 Louis du Fay was given 8 florins "pour faire faire sa houssure pour Jouster au pas de la pastourelle", AN P 1334¹⁴, f^o 167v^o.
175. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2479, f^o 6v^o.
176. Ibid., B 2479, f^o 82v^o - 83r^o.
177. J.-P. Jourdan, Pas d'Armes et Tournois, op. cit., p. 86. René's household accounts for 1454 end too early for us to determine whether the "Pas de la Belle Morienne" ever took place.
178. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2510 f^o 51v^o.
179. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 216 f^o 21v^o; B 2483 f^o 8r^o and B 2485 bis f^o 11v^o.

CHAPTER FIVE: FOOTNOTES

1. Roy Strong, Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion, (London, 1973), p. 21.
2. Philippe de Mézières, Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin, (ed.) G.W. Coopland, (London, 1969), vol. 2, p. 49. Written in 1389, the year of Charles' most magnificent court spectacles, Mézières further admonishes: - "In all feasts and celebrations the standard of expense must be lowered and the outrageous costs now customary must be avoided".
3. Daniel Chaubet, Une Enquête Historique en Savoie au XV^e Siècle, p. 115.
4. E. Deschamps, Oeuvres Complètes, (ed.) Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris, 1878), p. 282-3, "Devoirs d'un prince", 1392.
5. Histoire du Gentil Seigneur de Bayart, (ed.), M.J. Roman, (Paris, 1878), p. 154.
6. AST. Inv. 16., no. 128, f^o 67v^o.
7. Dubois, Chronique de la maison du Challant, op. cit., p. 101.
8. E. de Monstrelet, Chroniques, op. cit., tV, pp. 433 et seq.
9. Bodleian Library, Oxford: Ms Digby 196, f^o 155v^o.
10. Mathieu d'Escouchy, Chronique, op. cit., tI, p. 81.
11. Ut supra, tII, p. 264.
12. G. Chastellain, Oeuvres, tIV, p. 136 et seq.
13. Bibliothèque de Lyon, Ms 1359-1360, "Raccolta di Diverse feste...", f^o 24r^o.
14. E.H. Gaullieur, "Correspondence du Pape Felix V et de son fils, Louis duc de Savoie, au sujet de la ligue de Milan", Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte, xviii (1851), p. 345.
15. Léon de Menabrea, Chroniques de Yolande de France, duchesse de Savoie, op. cit., p. 62.
16. "Chronica Latina Sabaudiae", M.H.P. Scriptorum, tI, col. 621.
17. Jean Jaquot, "La fête princière", in Histoire des Spectacles, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, t19 (Tours, 1965), p. 212.
18. AST. Inv. 16, no. 45, f^o 100v^o, "pour semondre les dames avec mons^r le Jour de Noel".

19. AST. Inv. 16, no. 111, f^o 307r^o. Similarly in January 1471, 8 "escus d'or" were given to four minstrels for playing their instruments from Christmas to "diem carnispreum", Inv. 16, no. 116, f^o 272r^o.
20. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2488, f^o 8r^o and B2510, f^o 40r^o. There were a number of companies in France rejoicing under this name. In June 1483, "les galans sans soucy, jouex de farces" were given 10 livres tournois for having "joue et chante" before Marie de Clèves and the young duke, Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, tlll no. 7141.
21. AST. Inv. 16, no. 110, f^o 77v^o.
22. Elia Colombo, Iolanda Duchessa di Savoia, op. cit., p. 69 n.5, letters of 25 and 28 December, "ogniuno margia come se se volesseno disnare et dicono che fano questo per fare buona clera et alegrezza de la Nativita del Salvatore nostro, Jesu Xpisto".
23. AST. Inv. 16, no. 57, f^o 159r^o; Inv. 16, no. 84, f^o 431r^o; Inv. 16, no. 123, f^o 104v^o.
24. AN. KK 271, f^o 24v^o, "2 aunes drap tanne pour une Robe a Jehaninet de Soissons a lui donnee par mondit Seigneur pour ce quil fut Roy la veille de la thiphaine [Epiphany]". Later examples occur in 1468, Archives du Loiret, 6J10: 109, and the years 1474, 1475 and 1477, Laborde, ut supra,, nos. 7111, 7122 and 7126.
25. AST. Inv. 16, no. 84, f^o 432r^o.
26. AST. Inv. 16, no. 61, f^o 470r^o - "Libravit ... petre de grolea scutiffero domini dono sibi per dominum semel graciose facto contemplacione Regni feste epiphanie domini nuper lapsi In quo dicta die in hospicio domini ut moris est ob dicta festa sollempnitatem extitit constitutus". AST. Inv 16, no. 94, f^o 286 - March 1447, as knight, councillor and chamberlain he was sent as ambassador to the Dauphin at Romans.
27. AST. Inv 16, no. 88, f^o 445r^o; AST. Inv. 16, no. 85, f^o 217r^o; AST. Inv. 16, no. 89, f^o 77r^o for details on the "mommerie" for "Le Jour de Carementrant".
28. A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV (Manchester, 1959), p. 129.
29. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B215, f^o 11r^o.
30. An early musical theorist, Tinctoris' Complexus effectuum Musices, written c.1473-4, was immensely influential. See E. Bowles, Musikleben im Funfzehnten Jahrhundert, (Leipzig, 1977), p. 9.
31. In 1389, when Louis' household was first established as separate from his brothers, his minstrels were Colinet Bourgeois, his brother Jehannin, Colin Mangdance and Bassan de Franchies, "trumpeter", BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 45. In 1403, they were Colinet Bourgeois Belin (i.e. Arbelin, Herbelin or Albelin) George and the two trumpeters, Pierre Girart and Fromesle Lequar - Leopold Delisle, Collections de Bastard d'Estang, Registre l d'Aubron, no. 1015, Payement des gages des officiers, 16 December 1403.

32. The names of only a handful of minstrels retained by Charles d'Orléans have survived. Jehan d'Avignon, Colinet Bourgeois and Arbelin, his minstrels in 1413, were inherited from his father, Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, tlll, no. 6233; Jehan de Petitgay, harpist and "valet de chambre", also makes his only appearance in 1413, *ibid.* no. 6226. For the period after 1440 even less names are known, Jehan de Joudoigne, harpist and "valet de chambre" in 1457, BN. P. orig. 2160 no. 666; Pierre Fleury and Henry de Bar "tabourins" in 1450 and 1464 respectively. Archives du Loiret, 6J10: 51 and 99.

33. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2499, f^o 26r^o et seq., "Deuxième Rolle", 1480, and B2510, f^o 39r^o, January 1480. There are problems in trying to gauge the normal complement of minstrels, if such there was, from the lists of "livres" or "etrennes". Their numbers grew at festival times and depleted at other times as minstrels left the court on dual business, to visit their families or to provide entertainment at the celebrations of other courts. Some were only retained for short periods of time, particularly at the very period of the "etrennes".

34. On the threshold of Amédée's retreat to Ripaille, there were seven minstrels at court, three trumpeters, Etienne, Ferrieres and Rambaud, and four minstrels, Rolet des Ayes and Perrinet des Ayes (otherwise "de Lyere"), Thomas Carrion and Jehan d'Ostende, AST. Inv. 16, no. 79, f^o 446. Two years later, in 1436, eleven trumpeters and five minstrels received salaries, AST. Inv. 16, no. 82, f^o 258: In 1447 this had fallen to eleven, though the drop to only two trumpeters, Etienne and Perrin, sounds unlikely, Inv. 16, no. 94, f^o 237v^o. By 1459, there were six trumpeters and five minstrels, Inv. 16, no. 106, f^o 234, but in the 1460s and 1470s this dropped again to six or seven.

35. J. Marix, Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens..., p. 88; Charles the Bold's ordonnance of 1469 sets the tally at 11 minstrels, Vaughan, Valois Burgundy, p. 169. Between 1414 and 1416, Louis de Guyenne retained a body of nine minstrels, his father, Charles VI, had eleven in 1418, BN. Ms. fr. 7853, tll, pp. 1152 and 1092.

36. Philippe de Mézières, Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin, op. cit., p. 243.

37. AN. KK 267, f^o 82, 1404-5.

38. E. Colombo, Re Renato Alleato del Duca Francesco Sforza... p. 389 Documenti., no. 33. The reason behind Rene's dislike of "aubades", is suggested by a letter written to Sforza from Lodi, the previous day, 4 October 1453, wherein Alessandro d'Ancona complained that "la matina se leva tarde", *ibid.*, no. 32.

39. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2510, f^o 39r^o - the "bas instrumens" were played by Georgin and Jehannin, harpists and "L'annequin" and "petit Jehan" lutists.

40. M.P.M. Bruchet, Le Château de Ripaille, p. 158.
41. Traité..., passim., e.g. p. 52, one hour before the beginning of the tournament, the "seigneur appellant... doit envoyer sonner ses trompettes par la ville, a cheval, pour recueillir ceux qui ont ete ranges de son cote". The mêlée was to continue, p. 57, until the "trompettes sonnerant retraites par le commandement des juges".
42. Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV.., tI, p. 154.
43. AST. Inv 16, no. 124, f^o 91r^o - "pour les postz et les trestz de quoy lon a fait ... le haut siege des menestriers ... 2 florins".
44. Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, Chronique, tII, pp. 291-297.
45. Monstrelet, Chroniques, tV, p. 440.
46. Household minstrels were clearly identified as such, bearing the badge, or "esmail des armes" of the prince; for ceremonial appearances these were richly gilded - two ducats each were spent on five "grans esmaulx" for René's minstrels in October 1478 (Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2484, f^o 17v^o), while five less expensive and smaller ones were made "pour porter a tous les jours" (ibid., f^o 21v^o). The trumpeters wore a silver collar displaying the king's arms - in February 1479, "Micheau la trompette" was given 80 florins "pour avoir ung collier d'argent aux armes du Roy comme ses compaignons, qui estoit de feu pierre la trompette", (B2485, f^o 8v^o). From the trumpets, clarions and sackbuts hung banners in his arms, fringed in his livery colours, e.g. in June 1472, 6 banners for the clarions quartered in the arms of Jerusalem and Hungary (B2480 f^o 10r^o).
47. "Faillon qui joue de la doulcine", 1478 - Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2483, f^o 8r^o; "Faillon qui joue au chalaume", ibid., f^o 14v^o; "Faillon qui Joue de la Musete", ibid., f^o 19v^o.
48. BN. P. orig. 2153 no. 220 and Archives du Loiret, 6J5 piece 116, July 1398 for Henry Planzouf: BN. P. orig. 2153, no. 166 and Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, tIII, no. 6233 for Herbelin.
49. Despence de Bouche, 1469-1470, Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2491, f^o 21v^o, and B2485, f^o 11r^o, April 1479, "au [Conrad] petit sousysse qui Joue du tabour a la facon de son pays" and "au sousysse des aliances venu avecques ledit petit sousysse qui j oue de la fleute", wages of 5 escus each.
50. AST. Inv 16, no. 48, f^o 131r^o.
51. AST. Inv 16, no. 61, f^o 571r^o.
52. AST. Inv 39, f^o 9, no. 4, f^o 41, April 1418. Mathilde, daughter of Amédée d'Achaie and niece of the duke of Savoy was en route for Freiburg to meet the ambassadors sent by her husband, Lewis of Bavaria. The court of Savoy continued later in the century, to employ German instrumentalists, Henry and Conrad Malde "trompetis et muinis" in 1453, for example (Inv. 16, no. 102, f^o 484) or "Gluomard" and Henry in 1463, (Inv. 16, no. 110, f^o 115).

53. AST. Inv 16, no. 48, f^o 81v^o.
54. AST. Inv 16, no. 57, f^o 210r^o and no. 61, f^o 509r^o.
55. AST. Inv 16, no. 62, f^o 105v^o and Inv 39, f^o 9, no. 4, f^o 35 - "Reynard arpeur de madame" given 10 florins as part of his salary of the year ending Christmas 1418 "auquel temps Il a demore en lescole et avecques le maistre du chan du pont de Beauvoisin".
56. AST. Inv 16, no. 74, f^o 265 - 30 florins given on 11 February 1429 to Jehan de Cheles, Vautier de Beauchain and Jehan Escochy, "pro eundo ad scolae eorum artis". On the "scolae" see Isabelle Cazeaux, French Music in the 15th and 16th Centuries, (Oxford, 1975), p. 98.
57. In 1459, the 6 trumpeters and 5 minstrels receive as "etrennes", bonnets costing the same as those given to the archers, messengers ("chevaucheurs"), falconers except for Jehan d'Ostende who was given a more expensive "bonet noir de paris", AST. Inv 16, no. 106, f^o 234r^o.
58. AN. P1334¹⁴ f^o 58, April 1447.
59. AST. Inv 16, no. 39, f^o 109r^o - 1 February 1392, 25 florins to "prieur menestrier de monsieur A luy debhus pour la Remanences de ses gages du temps quil a servi a monsieur le grand cuy dieus hait es parties de naples et de ytaly" and Inv 16, no. 64, f^o 226v^o - 82 florins ld.
60. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B216 f^o 7r^o, February 1478.
61. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2485 bis, f^o 7v^o, June 1479; AN. P1334¹⁴ f^o 58.
62. BN. P. orig. 2153/220; Collections de Bastard d'Estang, Registre 1 d'Aubron, no. 1015 and Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne t111, no. 6233.
63. AST. Inv 16, no. 80, f^o 315r^o.
64. M.T. Bouquet, "La Cappella Musicale d ei duchi di Savoia 1450-1500", Rivista Italiana di Musicologia, III (1968), p. 253. AST. Inv. 16, no. 126, f^o 415.
65. Leman L. Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422-83)", Journal of the American Musicological Society, t37, no. 3 (1984), p. 515.
66. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, Chronique, t11, p. 293.
67. AST. Inv. 16, no. 79, f^o 164r^o and no. 80 f^o 144r^o - the "chantres" are Pierre Reynaud, Bernard, Yvonet, Jenin, Rogier, Douret, Glaude and Vautellet.

68. I. Cazeaux, French Music in the 15th and 16th centuries, p. 36.
69. AN. KK 271, f^o 23v^o - 15 robes in "drap gris de Rouan" for the "quinze chantres de mondit s^r, Cestassavoir Messire Nicolle, guillemin le Rouge, Estienne la teneur [i.e. Etienne le Mayre or "le Mol"], Guillaume le groing, Messire Jehan croquenieure, messire mathieu, messire thomas le Jeune, messire Jaques, messire Jehan paulmier ... piefort, Johannes, Roulhin, pierre billart, Charlot guiart et Janvier".
70. AN. KK 245, "Compte Premier de Jehan de Vacincourt ... commis et ordonne ... a la Recepte et payement des chappellains et chantres de leur chappelle ... depuis le premier Jour de May lan Mil quatre cens quarante neuf que ladite chappelle fut Instituee ... Jucques au derrain Jour dottobre Inclus Mil quatercens Cinquante et deux ...": BN. Ms. fr. 8588, "Compte second de Jehan de Vacincourt", 1 November 1452 - 31 October 1454.

René's grandfather, Louis 1 d'Anjou's chapel was composed of seven chaplains including "Jehan Laurent teneur", BN. Ms. fr. 7852, f^o 266. René and his wife re-established the chapel, financing it from revenues drawn on Provence. At its inception, there were six choristers, falling to four in September, AN. KK 245 f^o 3. By May 1453 they were ten, BN. Ms. fr. 8588 f^o 97r^o.
71. By 1477, there were a total of forty in Charles the Bold's chapel, Cazeaux, op. cit., p. 39. Of René d'Anjou's chapel, Octavien de St Gelay's wrote:
"chantres avoit, doulx et organisans
Tous approuvez en nouvelle musique". (Ibid., p. 41)
72. Lecoy de la Marche, Le Roi René, tll, p. 135.
73. AST. Inv 16, no. 79, f^o 464r^o - 21 March 1434, payment of 25 florins to Dufay ("Guilelmus de facto"), his salary for the year commencing 1 February 1434. In August he was given 10 florins to leave court to visit his mother, Inv 16, no. 79, f^o 391. Piero di Medici's comment is quoted in Hay and Law, Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1380-1530 (Harlow, Essex, 1989), p. 338.
74. S.M. Marie-José, "Un Musicien Célèbre du XV^s. à la Cour de Savoie: Guillaume Dufay", Revue de Savoie, (1958), p. 253.
75. AST. Inv. 16, no. 98, f^o 270r^o.
76. Ch. Van den Borren, Guillaume Dufay. Son importance dans la musique du XV^e siècle (Brussels, 1926), p. 50 - "Nous avons receu la toile fine que derrenierement vous avez envoyee dont nous vous remercions et vous prions tant alertes que plus pouvons que pa ainsi que mon tres cher et redoubte seigneur vous escript vous vueilles venir par deca".
77. AST. Inv 16, no. 88, f^o 163v^o and no. 107, f^o 307.

78. S.M. Marie-José, Amédée VIII, tII, p. 86.
79. "Chronica Latina Sabaudia", op. cit., col. 621.
80. L. de Menabrea, Chroniques de Yolande de France..., pp. 55-6. Lambert refers to the composition of the Sainte Chapelle as, "le doyen, douze chanoynes, six chapellains altariens, quatre clerks de chapelle, six innocens pour chanter les messes et heures canonicales, deux maistres ung en gramatique et ung en musique et ung serviteur pour les servir en la maison qui sont en nombre trente et deux persones". He was careful to stress that the chapel was "fondez et stipendies pour vivre bien et honestement sanz touchyer ne prendre ung seul dernier du patrimoyne de mondit seigneur".

The first "maitres" were Robert de Piret "orateur ducale" and Poquet Busquet, AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 129r^o. As their voices broke, the boys were, if suitable, moved to the choir:- the "étrennes" of 1474 note two novices "mys dehors" because "le voys estoient changees", AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 126v^o. Yolande made a further reorganisation in January 1476, see Marie Therese Boucquet, "La Cappella Musicale dei duchi di Savoia, 1450-1500", op. cit., p. 239.
81. Jehan Piaz de Meldun, "magistro organorum" received a salary of 200 florins a year, AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 189. F^o 275 v^o et seq., records items purchased by Vauthier de Chignin "pour les grans orgues que mestre Jehan pie fait en la grant chapelle du chasteau de Chambery", 21 August, 1469.

Most interestingly, Lambert includes Yolande's installation of the organ in his Justification of her expenditure and good works, Menabrea, ut supra, p. 56.
82. Lewis Lockwood, "Strategies of Music Patronage in the 15th Century: the Cappella of Ercole D'Este", in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, (ed.) Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), p. 233. Hay and Law, Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, op. cit., p. 339.
83. AN. KK 245, f^o 4 (February and May 1450), f^o 5v^o (October 1450), f^o 9v^o (November 1450).
84. Ibid., f^o 4r^o, April 1450, four escus to Maydon "chantre qui avoit este mande devers ladite dame [Isabelle de Lorraine] pour estre tenneur en ledite chappelle".
85. Ibid., f^o 5r^o. Philippe Bouteillat who replaced the Bishop of Orange as "maitre de la chapelle" in 1453, received 24 escus pension for this post above his monthly wages of 6 escus, as "chantre", BN. Ms. fr. 8588, f^o 96v^o.
86. Y. Esquieu and N. Coulet, "La Musique à la Cour Provençale du Roi René", Provence Historique, vol. xxxi (1981), p. 301. Esquieu's study is based primarily on notarial sources backed up by material in Arnaud d'Agnel. The "lettres de Vicariat" appears in Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B272, f^o 106v^o.

87. BN. P. orig. 2160 no. 669 - gift of "ung grant cousteau garny de quatre petiz cousteaux ... donnez A Estienne le mol teneur en sa chappelle", September 1457. F. Rabut, "Le Sejour de Janus de Savoie en France avec son Gouverneur Louis d'Avanchier (1456-1458)", MDS t26 (1887), p. 328 - "A Charlot chantre de monseigneur d'Orleans pour estre venu devers ledit Janus pour laprendre"; and p. 330, "Le jour de notre dame des aveux [8 Dec.] pour ung livre ou il avoit beaucoup de messes escriptes pour monditseigneur [i.e. Janus] achepste quant il aprenoit a chanter". Rabut's excerpts are from the account itemising Janus' expenditure during his voyages in France, 1 September 1456-14 October 1458.

BN. P.orig. 2160 no. 669 also mentions the gift of another "grant cousteau" to "Clisse" a servant of Janus. Could this be Johannes Clisse, chorister in the Savoyard chapel between 1441 and 1463?
88. Bouquet, "La Cappella Musicale..." op. cit., p. 249, c. 1456 to 31 August 1457.
89. AN. KK 245, f^o 5r^o, June 1450: Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2483, f^o 9v^o, 25 September 1478, 35 florins to "Messire tassin teneur de la chappelle du Roy" for expenses of a number of trips "en plusieurs lieux touchant aucunes matieres secretes".
90. AN. KK 245 f^o 5v^o, 18 November 1450 and Esquieu, "La Musique à la Cour Provençale du Roi René", op. cit., p. 300. Esquieu dates his arrival in the chapel to 1462.
91. AST. Inv 16, no. 97, f^o 149r^o, "étrennes" 1449 and no. 116, f^o 125r^o, "étrennes" 1471.
92. AST. Inv 16, no. 106, f^o 232v^o, "étrennes" 1459 and Bouquet, "La Cappella Musicale...", op. cit., p. 283 who dates his arrival to 1468.
93. AST. Inv 16, no. 102, f^o 478r^o and Bouquet, ut supra, p. 283.
94. AST. Inv 16, no. 111, f^o 117v^o; no. 113, f^o 282r^o; no. 119, f^o 252r^o.
95. Esquieu, "La Musique à la Cour Provençale du Roi René", op. cit., p. 302.
96. S.M. Marie-José, Amédée VIII, tII, p. 83.
97. Esquieu, ut supra, p. 302.
98. Bouquet, "La Cappella Musicale...", pp. 244-5; Chuet's salary rose from 150 florins in 1449 to 400 florins in 1458; AST. Inv 16, no. 98, f^o 244v^o and no. 103, f^o 155.
99. Agathe Lafortune-Martel, Fête Noble en Bourgogne..., op. cit., p. 159.
100. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2487, f^o 18r^o, July 1479.
101. AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 186r^o and 230v^o.
102. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 183v^o.
103. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o 59v^o, August 1452.

104. There is any quantity of examples of these: the following from Savoy are a taster. In March 1418, Hans Gavard "theotónico", "ludit coram domino ludo daperteysse", AST. Inv 16, no. 64, f^o 361r^o; in March 1451 at Chambery, 2 florins were given to "quibusdam batellatoribus seu tragiteriis qui luserunt Coram prefato domino nostro duce et domina nostre duchissa", AST. Inv. 16, no. 99, f^o 294v^o; 22 September 1466, 12d. to Peronet de Malignes "pro certis Jocis et solaciamentis", AST. Inv 16, no. 113, f^o 292r^o.
105. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2510, f^o 7v^o and 40r^o.
106. Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, tIII, no. 6640.
107. Graham A. Runnals, "René d'Anjou et le Théâtre", Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest, t88 (1981), no. 2, p. 159. Runnals' survey is the most comprehensive to date.
108. BN. Ms. fr. 10431, no. 1053 and 1054 - "Mandement" of Louis, dated 17 April 1396, to pay Jean le Fevre and his brother Jaquemin, Jehannin Esturion and Gillet Villain, "ses joueurs de personnages et esbatemens desquels il a pris grand plaisir", 20 livres tournois, with their "quittance" of 28 April. Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, tIII, no. 5634, "quittance" of the above for 20 livres tournois, 3 October 1394.
109. 15 January 1452, 4ls. 3d.t. "a plusieurs compaignons barbiers pour ce qu'ilz ont joue pluseurs foiz des farses devant mondit seigneur le Duc" and 27 February 1453, 55 s.t. "a plusieurs compaignons qui ont joue ou châstel de Blois deux misteres devant madite dame [Marie de Clèves]", J. de Croy, Cartulaire de la Ville de Blois 1196-1493 (Paris, 1907), p. 356.
110. 28 February, payments to Perrinet Normes, Florent goguet and seven other "Joueur de farces" (13l 15st.) and Jehan Prieur, Jaquet David, Saint Omer and Jehan de Berry (20l 12s 6dt.), Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o 5r^o.
111. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o 62r^o, 11 livres, wages for August to September; f^o 58r^o - 6 escus "a jouer farces davant icellui seigneur...". 21 August 1452; f^o 65v^o - 8l. 5s.t. "despences de bouche et pour don "for hire of four horses to go from Angers to "la Petite-Guierche, par trois jours entiers, jouer aulcunes farces", 8 October 1452.
112. P. Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans, op. cit., p. 456.
113. Runnals, "René d'Anjou et le Théâtre", pp. 164-5.
114. The most magnificent of the mysteries organised under René's auspices, was the "Mystère de Saint Vincent" at Angers in 1471 where a special theatre was constructed with a "grant salle, la chambre de retraict pour ledit seigneur roy de Sicile et entre deux cloaison d'essil, logeis pour l'eschanzonnerie, chambres et retraitz segres... etc", Lecoy de la Marche, Extraits des Comptes du Roi René, no. 740.

115. Runnals, "René d'Anjou et la Théâtre", p. 177.
116. "Chronica Latina Sabaudiae", M.H.P., op. cit., col. 621.
117. AST. Inv. 16, no. 107, f^o 308v^o.
118. AST. Inv 16, no. 106, f^o 234r^o and no. 107, f^o 310v^o.
119. AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 9v^o - 25 February 1467; AST. Inv 16, no. 114, f^o 102v^o and Inv 39, no. 11 f^o 228r^o.
120. AST. Inv. 39, no. 11, f^o 59v^o, 28 November 1468 - 2 ducats, "pour aler de ceste ville de thonon a geneve a acheter des farses pour Joyer a ces festes de noe" and f^o 345v^o, 2 escus, "pour acheter des farces pour Jouyer es noces de la Janne de mousix".
121. BN. Ms. fr. 7853 p. 1463, Payement des Gens et Chevaux de l'Hotel du Roy de Sicille, Sept. 1464-June 1468; and Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B2510, f^o 77.
122. AST. Inv 16, no. 126, f^o 223r^o, 12 October 1477, 5 florins "pro sepelimento et funeralibus"; Inv 16, no. 123, f^o 109v^o - "perenet de normes conduyteur du bagage quant madame va pour pays".
123. The following contains substantially the same material as my article "'Morisques' and 'momeryes': Aspects of Court Entertainment at the Court of Savoy in the Fifteenth Century", in Power, Culture and Religion in France, c.1350-1550, (ed.) C. Allmand (Woodbridge, 1989).
124. AST. Inv 16, no. 111, f^o 257v^o - 258r^o - "Il est deu ... A son tres humble obeissant subgeit serviteur et escuyer descuyererie voutier de chignin Les sommes ... quil a baillees et delivrees Au commandement de mondits^r Et aussy de matres redoubte dame madame la Duchesse de Savoye Pour fere les chaufaulx ou chastel de chambery ou a este Joye la destolacion de mons^r saint Jehan baptiste trois Jours durans". This account includes payment for the material and wood used and to 8 carpenters who worked two days on the stage.
125. AST. Inv 16, no. 111, f^o 299v^o, 6 January 1466 - "pour 11 chevrons lesquelx ont este employes a fere le chaphil Aut grant payl du chateaulx de chambery sur lequel lon a Jouye davant mesdits^r et dame la transfiguration des troys Roys faicte ledit Jour".
126. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 318 - expenses of "maistre de cousine" Lancelot de Lans - 15 florins. See also, Petit de Julleville, Histoire du Théâtre en France: Les Mystères (Paris, 1880), vol. II, pp. 32-3.
127. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 115 - 12 September 1470 - 3 florins to Lancelot de Lans "que madite dame luy a fait delivre lesqueulx ... il avoit employes a fere les chauffaux de Jeu de Lenfant de perdinon" and 18 gros for white and purple material for a costume for de Normes.

128. Sheila Edmunds, "The Medieval Library of Savoy", Scriptorium txxiv-xxvi (1970-72), txxv, pp. 277-280, Inventory of the Château of Moncalieri after Yolande's death, nos. 35, 56, 79 and 85. The "Jeu de barlaam" was performed at Chambery by "maitre Jaques de Villernien, moyne noer" from Bourget, AST. Inv 16, no. 115, f^o 160v^o. Like the "Mystère du Roy Advenir" performed at Angers, this "jeu" was a version of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat - see Petit de Julleville, Histoire du Théâtre en France: les Mystères, vol. II, pp. 474-8.
129. AST. Inv 16, no. 107, f^o 171r^o, March 1460, Symonet Libert "tappissier" is sent from Chieri to Turin "pour apporter une caisse de abillemens de mommerie": AST. Inv 16, no. 107, f^o 442v^o, January 1461, Jehan Surat muletier brings a trunk from Turin to Carignan "en quoy estoient les abillemens de la mommerie".
130. An etymology and discussion on the origins of the entremets is given in A. Lafortune-Martel, Fête noble en Bourgogne au XV^e siecle, op. cit., ch. 2 and 3.
131. Chiquart's 'On Cookery': A Fifteenth-century Savoyard Culinary Treatise (ed. and trans.) Terence Scully, American University Studies, Series IX, History, vol 22, (New York, 1986), pp. 22, 30-36.
132. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, Chronique II, pp. 295-6.
133. Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 196, f^o 156r^o.
134. Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne tI, no. 1174 - items made by Hue de Bouloingne for a banquet given by Philip the Good to Rene d'Anjou, the duc de Bourbon and c^{te} de Richemont including "ung entremets ou il avoit ung paon lout vif sur une trespasse et entour avoit x lyons dorees d'or qui tenoient chascun une banniere armoyee des armes de tous les pais de Mondits^r".
135. Oeuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan, (ed.) Maurice Roy (Paris, 1891), tII, pp. 29-48.
136. Thoinet Arbeau, Orchesography, (trans.) C.W. Beaumont (London, 1925), p. 18.
137. AST. Inv 38, no. 74, f^o 165v^o.
138. Archives, Bouches-du-Rhône, B 2482, f^o 28v^o - 10 florins to a "paintre alemant", "pour Rabiller habillement de la moresque des serenes qui fut Jouer devant le Roy le dimanche des brandons et dont la ville de masseille en a paie autres". B 2512 f^o 12, 6-9 February 1978, "Morisque du Roy Adrastus".
139. Bibliothèque de Lyon, Ms. 1359-1360 - "Raccolte di diverse feste..", f^o 24r^o.
140. AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 226r^o, 344v^o.

141. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 185v^o et seq., account of Lancelot de Lans for purchases totalling at 73 florins 3 gros; no. 123, f^o 232v^o-233r^o - "2 Robes covres dorfeverrie pour mes 2 damoiselles marie et loyse pour faire une mommerie le Jour des noupces de Iysabeau davenchier".
142. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 182v^o-184r^o, f^o 192r^o-194r^o, total cost 115 florins 3 gros.
143. Chiquart's "On Cookery", op. cit., p. 24.
144. Arbeau, Orchesography, op. cit., p. 20.
145. AST. Inv 16, no. 124, f^o 90v^o-92v^o. It is not always possible to tell from the accounts, which characters are human and which are only dummies. Here the division is more obvious - "terre grasse pous fere la moelle du grant geant comme 9 petis hommes darmes".
146. AST. Inv 16, no. 119, f^o153v^o-154v^o, f^o156r^o, f^o166r^o-167v^o, f^o169r^o - including fabrication of 450 banners "armoyees dung couste et daultre aux armes de mons^r et m^{me} et des seigneurs de millan pour mectre par dessus les viandes dudit banquet"; and expenses of Guillaume Combe "clerc de fourrerrie" for nine days at St Yore "pour aprester les logis desdits ambexeurs faire Cuyre du pain et A fere aprester toutes choses necessaires pour lesdits ambexeurs". The cost of all these preparations and the upkeep of the ambassadors was 2244 florins.
147. Chiquart's "On Cookery", op. cit., p. 14.
148. AST. Inv. 16, no. 122, f^o 172r^o-176v^o, f^o 194v^o-196r^o. Anne was married to Frederick on 1 September 1478 but died in March of the following year, Inv 16, no. 129, f^o 121. The diplomatic background to the treaty which Yolande had signed on 30 January, is discussed in Elia Colombo, Iolanda, Duchesse di Savoia, op. cit., ch. V.
149. P. Reyner, Les Masques Anglais (Paris, 1909), p. 455.
150. AN. KK 271, f^o 67v^o.
151. AST. Inv 16, no. 85, f^o 143.
152. AST. Inv 16, no. 88, f^o 79r^o.
153. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 128r^o.
154. Her gifts from the duchess for her wedding alone, were considerable - a dress of black velvet "a longue coue" (train) to wear on her wedding day, costing 77 florins, lined with 1200 miniver skins, AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 119r^o. Her husband, Andrée de Grolee, s^r de Passyns, was given 600 florins "in contractu matrimonii", no. 116, f^o 256r^o, and Catherine was given 100 escus d'or "en augmentation de son dot", Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 213.

155. AST. Inv 16, no. 111, f^o 271v^o, September 1465. Philibert was born in August.
156. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 128r^o.
157. AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 105v^o.
158. AST. Inv 16, no. 126, f^o 130v^o.
159. AST. Inv 16, no. 126, f^o 130v^o.
160. Marcossey's stipend as "maitre d'hotel" was 300 florins p.a., AST. Inv. 16, no. 126, f^o 380v^o. Claude de Seyssel, sg^r d'Aix, was "grand maitre d'hotel" c.1465, no. 116, f^o 159r^o, and shortly after this, made Marshall. Claude was one of Yolande's faithful adherents who fled with her to Grenoble from Montmelion in 1471 when the latter was captured by Philippe, c^{te} de Bresse and Jacques, c^{te} de Romont. A Folliet, Histoire des Maréchaux de Savoie, p. 60. Claude's wife was one of Yolande's ladies-in-waiting.
161. AST. Inv 16, no. 126, f^o 142v^o - 45 florins to Hugonin's brother George, "pour fere une Robe a chevaucher a pourter lespee devant mons^r en mon absence", April 1478. In August of that year he was given 250 florins, the expense of his trip to the French court to reach an agreement over Anne's marriage to Frederick, Prince of Tarento, no. 126, f^o 293v^o. La Forest later became Governor of Nice. When Charles the Bold captured and imprisoned Yolande, he hid Philibert in a field and brought him by night to Geneva, M. Zucchi, I Governatori dei Principi Reali di Savoia (Turin, 1925), pp. 21-2.
162. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 130v^o - Vautier de Clignin died in 1474, no. 128, f^o 98v^o. Joffrey de Riveyrol became ducal councillor and "maitre d'hotel" in 1476, no. 123, f^o 64. According to the Statuta Sabaudia, the "escuiers d'escuieries" were in charge of the provision of harness, weapons and everything else "ad statum guerre necessaria", the provision of torches for the "sale de parement" and in general "omnia et singula ad honorificationem nostri ... fideliter et diligenter exercere", Book 2, "De officio scutiferorum scutiferie".
163. Statuta Sabaudia, ut supra.
164. Dubois, Chronique de la Maison de Challant, p. 63.
165. Twelve volumes of text and illustrations survive of the fetes organised at Savoy from 1640 to 1681, see Roy Strong, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650 (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 3-6.
166. AST. Inv 16, no. 106, f^o 234v^o.
167. Jacques first appears in 1420, AST. Inv 16, no. 66, f^o 239v^o, serving in Anne's household from at least August 1435, no. 80, f^o 284v^o. In 1452 he is described as "noble Jaquet de Lans", no. 99, f^o 257.

168. AST. Inv 16, no. 107, f^o 308- 1460, one of thirteen pages receiving bonnets. In the list of "étrennes" for 1469, he appears as "mestre de cuisine", no. 115, f^o 108.
169. AST. Inv 16, no. 114, f^o 105v^o and 108r^o.
170. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 318r^o.
171. AST. Inv 16, no. 119, f^o 153v^o; no. 122, f^o 181r^o; no. 122, 182v^o; no. 122 f^o 172 et seq; no. 124, f^o 90v^o.
172. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 181r^o.
173. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 183v^o.
174. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 143r^o-144v^o - "Livrées" of 1474. A number of Brigant's family served on the kitchen staff, a George Brigant "bouteiller", Pierre Brigant "cuisinier", AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 143-4. Brigant died in 1476, Inv 16, no. 123, f^o 281v^o.
175. Chiquart's "On Cookery", op. cit., p. 16.
176. AST. Inv 16, no. 79, f^o 194r^o.
177. Chiquart, ut supra. Scully's introduction, p.xi, and p.7. The treatise was written in 1420 on paper, with no illuminations. Chiquart served Amedee VIII from as early as 1402 until 1434, AST. Inv 16, no. 46, f^o 87r^o, gift of 20 escus d'or, 1402; no. 79, f^o 217r^o, 1434.
178. Ibid., p. 33.
179. Jehan Servion, Geste et Chroniques., op. cit., p. 188.
180. AST. Inv 16, no. 64, f^o 166v^o, 1418; AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 123v^o - "une chambre de la fontayne de Jovent et des petys enfans pourtans daultres enfans et une dame qui tient ung lyon", 1470.
181. AST. Inv 16, no. 118, f^o 277; AST. Inv 16, no. 123, f^o 256-7.
182. Chiquart, ut supra, pp. 30-36.
183. Lefèvre de St Rémy, Chronique, t11, p. 295 - "et fut si bien faict que c'estoit belle chose a veoir".
184. AST. Inv 16, no. 119, f^o 153v^o-154r^o - 5 florins "pour le chasteau damours tant pour boys tan dos que toille que fasson", and "13 livres d'or cliquant pour parformir que le chasteau damours que les habis, de Robiz, de haquetons"; AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 172r^o-174v^o.
185. AST. Inv 16, no. 124, f^o 90v^o-92v^o; Menabrea, Chroniques de Yolande de France, op. cit., Pièces Justificatives, no. 129.

186. AST. Inv 16, no. 88, f^o 214v^o-216r^o - role of expenses of "Jehan le pintre".
187. Menabrea, Chroniques de Yolande de France, op. cit., Pieces Justificatives no. 96, account of Robert of his work in the oratory at the castle of Ivrea, 1474. Although in 1467, he is described as "maitre nicola le pintre de Chambery ... segant la court", most of his activities were commissioned and undertaken in Piedmont, AST. Inv 16, no. 113, f^o 133v^o.
188. "A maitre nycolas le paintre de mondits^r pour avoir couvert 24 grans platz faitz de verges lesquelx il a couvert et cole de papier ... Et puis les a apres couvert de feuilles destain par dessus le papier pour fere les platz grans pour service Audit banquet", AST. Inv 16, no. 119, f^o 167r^o.
189. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 189v^o - "500 banneroles ... tant longue que carree ... aux armes de mons^r et madame ... pour mettre sur les plas des mes", "deux serennes pour lesdits entremes faictes de mollure et couverte destain", "trente deux hommes darmes que Jay fait de mollure argentee de fin argent pour mectre dessus les mes comme sur les pollaillies chappons ou perdris, ensemble leurs mantellines".
190. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 193 and 189v^o.
191. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 173v^o and no. 123, f^o 257v^o.
192. AST. Inv 16, no. 79, f^o 179v^o.
193. "Ung abilliement dalamant fait de toelle roge echacate dargent et ung chapperon de draps dymy blanc et dymy roge et ung plomme dautruche", January 1475, AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 183v^o. AST. Inv 16, no. 119, f^o 153v^o, February 1474.
194. AST. Inv 16, no. 116, f^o 130v^o.
195. AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 309r^o. In 1428 Hue de Boulogne, artist of Philip the Good, made "7 habis de drap de pluseurs coulleurs de estrange facion, propices a danser la morisque, et iceux enrichy douvrages ... de lettres sarasinoises ... de franges dor et dautres ouvrages non samblables lun a lautre", Marix, Histoire de la Musique, op. cit., p. 47.
196. L. de Laborde, Glossaire francais du Moyen Age à l'usage de l'archéologie et des amateurs d'art (Paris, 1872).
197. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 183r^o and 122r^o.
198. AST. Inv 16, no. 124, f^o 91r^o and 92v^o.
199. AST. Inv 16, no. 115, f^o 112.
200. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 184v^o (January 1475); no. 124, f^o 92 (December 1476); no. 79, f^o 176v^o (February 1434).
201. Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy, Chronique tII, p. 296.

202. AST. Inv 16, no. 124, f^o90v^o.
203. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 193.
204. Timothy Husband, The Wildman; Medieval Myth and Symbolism (1981), p. 5. Husband's book is an excellent iconographical study.
205. R. Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages (London, 1952), p. 67.
206. Froissart, Oeuvres, t16, pp. 84 et seq.
207. Lefèvre de St-Rémy, Chronique, tII, p. 296.
208. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 183v^o.
209. Lafortune-Martel, Fête noble en Bourgogne au XV^e siècle, op. cit., p. 153. As late as the Renaissance, says Maurice Lever, the fool "apparaît comme une creature singulière, hybride comme une bizarrerie de la nature", Le Sceptre et la Marotte (Paris, 1983), pp. 95-6.
210. Lefèvre de St-Rémy, Chronique, tII, pp 296-7.
211. AST. Inv 16, no. 114, f^o 128.
212. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 183v^o.
213. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 181r^o.
214. Roy Strong, Art and Power, op. cit., p. 18.
215. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 181r^o.
216. AST. Inv 16, no. 114, f^o 128, February 1469.
217. AST. Inv 39, no. 11, f^o 63.
218. The following information is drawn from AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 131, 134, 172r^o - 176r^o, 256-7, 194r^o.
219. AST. Inv 16, no. 122, f^o 176, "ung grosse teste de dragon tant pour le boes pour les tasches que pour le filz de fert a la fere Joyer": "pour argente deux espies pour deux sauvages que combatoyent le dragon".
220. D.J.D. Boulton, The Knights of the Crown (Woodbridge, 1987), p.404.
221. M. Zucchi, I Governatori..., op. cit., p. 17.
222. Roy Strong, Art and Power, op. cit., pp. 3-7.

CHAPTER SIX: FOOTNOTES

1. Noel Coulet, "Naissance et épanouissement d'une capitale, Aix au Moyen Age", Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence (Aix), 1977, p. 99.
2. M.G.A. Vale, 'A Fourteenth Century Order of Chivalry: the Tiercelet', English Historical Review, 82 (1967), p. 332. M. Keen, Chivalry (New Haven, 1984), p. 183.
3. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (eds.), Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche (Paris, 1888), tIV, pp. 161-2.
4. D.J.D. Boulton, The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe (Woodbridge, 1987), xx.
5. Christine de Pisan, Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy Charles V, Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France (1836), tII, p. 28.
6. Jean d'Oronville, La Chronique du Bon Duc Loys de Bourbon, (ed.) A.M. Chazaud (Paris, 1876), pp. 8-10, 116.
7. P. Dumont, "L'Ordre de l'Ecu d'Or", Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais, vol. xxvi, (1923), pp. 46-9. Boulton, op. cit., pp. 271-274.
8. Information on the little known 'Ordre de la Couronne' may be found in F.F. Steenacker's Histoire des Ordres de Chevalerie et les Distinctions Honorifiques en France (Paris, 1867), p. 170. B. Tuchman makes a brief reference to the order in her biography of Coucy, A Distant Mirror (London, 1979), p. 351. Deschamps poem is in his Oeuvres Complètes (eds.), Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and G. Raynaud (Paris, 1878-1901), vol. II p. 35. Louis' ratification of Coucy's "ordre de fondation" is contained in the "Cartulaire de Blois" (AN. KK 897 f^o 34v^o) and is dated November 1404, Beauté-sur-Marne. Louis' own devotion to the Celestines and his endowment of their property in Paris is well known.
9. Sandra L. Hindman, Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othea": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI [Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Studies and Texts 77] (Toronto, 1986), p. 176 et seq.; Boulton, ut supra, p. 430 ascribes "purely honorific functions" to the Broompod. Charles' distribution to English gentlewomen appears in "L'Entrevue d'Ardres, document communiqué par M.P. Meyer et annoté par M.M. Meyer & S. Luce", Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France t18 (1881), p. 219. AN. KK 27 f^o 1v^o, 2v^o and 60r^o describe the "collier d'or de lordre et divise du Roy" bestowed on Jean de Nevers and the others. That given to Nevers was by far the richest, incorporating 10 large rubies, 21 pearls and a large diamond.

10. R.C. Famiglietti, Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420 (New York, 1986), p. 217 n.155.
11. Colette Beaune's article on "Costume et Pouvoir en France à la Fin du Moyen Age: Les devises royales vers 1400" in Revue des Sciences Humaines t55 (1981), pp. 125-146, is excellent for an up-to-date consideration of Charles VI's "cerf volant" which, she contends, "traduisait très fidèlement les conceptions de l'essence de la royauté à la fin du XIV^e". M. Pastoureau in Traité d'Heraldique (Paris, 1979), defines a "badge" as the emblem by itself, and the "devis", the combination of "badge" plus motto.
12. BN, P. orig. 2153 no 186 "Item pour le signet d'or de mondit seigneur ou il a taille un leu et un porc espy" and "pour la garnison d'un coustel a manche de noire come torse en facon d'une espee et est la housse d'or dedans le creux et deux esmouls dedans le pommel l'un d'un loup l'autre d'un porc espy..." Hance Karast, or Croist, seems to have been the sole goldsmith involved in the manufacture of the collars of the Porcupine.
13. André Favyn, Theatre of Honour and Knighthood (London, 1623), p. 464. The date 1394 has been accepted almost without question by those writing on the order, including its historian, H. de Bremond d'Ars-Migré, Les Chevaliers du Porc Espic ou du Camail, 1394-1498 (Macon, 1938), p. 9. Only Jarry expressed reservations, E. Jarry, La Vie Politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans, 1372-1407 (Orléans, 1889), p. 130.
14. Jean Jouvenal des Ursins Chroniques, (ed.), Michaud and Poujoulat (Paris, 1836), p. 134 - "Et a le baptiser y eut grande solemnite". The Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis, (ed.), B. Bellaguet (Paris, 1839-41), tII, p. 246, describes Charles' baptism at the church of the hotel St Pol. Charles was born on 24 November and was baptised some days later.
15. Louis d'Orléan's first son was born on 25 May 1390 and died that same year (BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 97). A second son, also called Louis, was born in May 1391 and survived until 1395 while a third son Jean was born in 1393 and died shortly afterwards (Archives du Loiret, Collection Joursanvault, 6J3 piece 31).
16. Favyn, ut supra, p. 464.
17. Archives du Loiret, Collection Joursanvault, 6J3 piece 21.
18. BL. Add. ch. 2098 - "diapprees ... de fleurs de genestes de feuilles et de gosses de brodeuse" and "tout seme de loups".
19. BN. P. orig. 2153 no. 167.
20. BN. P. orig. 2153 no. 200.
21. BL. Add. ch. 2771, 8 February 1399 (n.s.).

22. BN. Ms. fr. 10431 no. 1201 - order to pay Hance Karast 572 francs for "une saliere d'or d'un porcespy", 12 April 1396.
23. BL. Add. ch. 2588 - a receipt from Colart de Laon, painter and valet, for 58 francs for painting a number of pieces of equipment for the joust. The document is slightly damaged though an obscured section appears to read that the crest on the helm was a "porc espy...yssant d'un rosier".
24. BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 1391, "deux petits panneaux de verre neufs a bordures ou il y a en l'un un loup et en l'autre un porcespy", January-March 1400.
25. BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 722, order of payment for 454 fr. 4s 2d.t. to Karast, 4 December 1398 and BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 40, order of payment to same for a silver collar, 4 December 1398. No. 722 is duplicated in BL. Add. ch. 3052.
26. Hindman, op. cit., p. 44 et seq. This particular copy of the "Epistre" is deposited in the British Library, BL. Harley MS 4431.
27. BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 26 "Role des derniers payez par le commandement de Monsieur le duc par Denis Mariete aux personnes ... pour aller avec lui au Voyage qu'il entendoit faire es parties d'Avignon...Melun", 13 December 1398.
28. BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 93.
29. Oeuvres de Froissart ed. baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867-77), tXIV p. 318.
30. BN. Ms. fr. 10432, no. 42.
31. "Balade de monseigneur d'Orléans et autres seigneurs estans avecques lui au Chastel de Boissy et comment ilz buvoient d'autant selon la caterve", Oeuvres Complètes, vol. vii, pp. 120-121.
32. See Appendix A. BN. Ms. fr. 10432/1602 and 1607 and also BL. Add. ch. 3088 for distributions of 1400. Ms. fr. 10432/1505 grants Jean de Roussay a replacement for the collar which Louis took from him to give to the "sg^r de Montauban" at Pontorson. This suggests that Roussay had already received the collar prior to July 1400.
33. Christine de Pisan, Oeuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan (Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1891), vol. 2 pp. 304-306.
34. Michel Nordberg, Les Ducs et la Royauté (Uppsala, 1964), passim.
35. Henri Moranvillé, "Le Songe Véritable", Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, vol. 17 (1890), p. 317. Monstrelet, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 127.

36. Jarry, La Vie Politique, p. 285. The two challenges were issued on 7 August 1402, when Louis sent an invitation to meet him in Guyenne with one hundred knights or squires, and on 26 March 1403.
37. The most notorious of these was the combat of seven of Louis' officers against seven English knights near Montendre (Saintonge) on 19 May 1402, immortalised in 3 ballads by Christine de Pisan, "Trois Ballades sur le combat de sept Français contre sept Anglais en 1402" Bulletin de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres, t1 (1839-40), pp. 376-388 (ed.), Leroux de Lincy. See also p. 124
38. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3639 no. 361.
39. BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 1567. The two silver collars are actually noted as having been repaired rather than made by Karast, which implies that they were given to Charles and Philippe before January 1401.
40. Jouvenal des Ursins, op. cit., p. 193.
41. G. Diaz da Gamez, The Unconquered Knight: a chronicle of the deeds of Don Pero Nino, (transl.) J. Evans (London, 1928), p. 153. Richard Vaughan, John the Fearless. The Growth of Burgundian Power (London, 1966), p. 38. Jarry in La Vie Politique, p. 336, says that the two dukes exchanged collars of their orders and cites Monstrelet as his authority, but although the latter notes the protestations of "fraternité" of the two he makes no mention of this exchange.
42. P.S. Lewis, "Decayed and Non Feudalism in Later Medieval France", Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research (1964), vol. 37 and Nordberg, op. cit., are authoritative on this subject.
43. AN. K 57 no. 925 and 926. The phraseology in de Rothembere's acceptance is "me a suum Cambellarium Retinuit cum honoribus consuets michi que aureum sue ordinis collarium concessit atque dedit" and is dated Paris, 20 February 1405 (n.s.). La Baume's acceptance is dated Senlis, 17 March 1405 (n.s.).
44. Jean de Garencières, sg^r de Croisy became chamberlain to Charles VI as early as 1387 and that of Louis, certainly by 1389 (Archives du Loiret, Coll. Joursanvault, 6J3 pièce 12). Jean de Craon, sg^r de Montbason was Louis' chamberlain in 1403, and Charles' in 1404 - see C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau, La Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI (Paris, 1982), p. 109. Jean de Roussay, placed in the service of Louis as a child was later chamberlain and councillor to Charles VI (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20027 no. 155 and BN. Ms. Clairambault 98 no. 72).
45. Diaz de Gamez, op. cit., p. 141.

46. AN. K 56^a no. 6 and AN.KK 267 f^o 74r^o for a record of payment in 1405. Chousat's letter to the Baillif of Dijon from Paris in December 1405, is quoted in Richard Vaughan, *ut supra*, pp. 36-37.
47. Laborde, *op. cit.*, no. 6229 and 6230; BL. Add. ch. 2424, and 2428.
48. AN. K 57, no. 4, order of Charles to Guillaume Sizain, to sell various items of jewellery, describes the collar in detail. It was far richer and more elaborate than any distributed to his servants:-
 "un Camail en facon de treliz ou de haye dor Sur lequel sont assis de chacun de deux costez quatre gros balaiz et ou milieu d'iceulx ung tresgros balay Au dessoubz duquel est pendant un fermaillet de quatre tres grosses perles & ou milieu dicelles un tres gros diamant au bous duquel fermoillet pent un porc espy et es huit pointes dudit Camail sont pendans quatre vins huit grosses perles blanches Cestassavoir en chacune xj Et est ledit Camail Cintre par dessus de bossetes tant dor que esmaillees de blanc et de Rouge cler", Chartres, 12 September 1410.
 Charles' desperation to retain his troops is reflected in an order to his treasurer general, Pierre Renier, of 21 January 1414, to break up a brooch to pay 50 soldiers for their wages "so that they do not leave our service", BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20028, no. 105.
49. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3641 no. 571; Laborde, *op. cit.*, no. 6177; Maulde de la Clavière, *op. cit.*, page 30.
50. Archives du Loiret, Collection Joursanvault, 6J7, piece 105, quittance for 10 livres tournois given him for unspecified services.
51. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241 p. 695. In Jehan de Thoiry's description of the proposed tomb for Louis d'Orléans and Valentine Visconti drawn up for ducal approval in February 1409, the "gisant" of the late duke Louis bears the "colier du camail a sa devise", BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3640 no. 520, printed in Graves, Quelques pièces, *op. cit.*, no. CXLIV.
52. See Appendix A for list of recipients and their biographical details.
53. AN. K 56 no. 24.
54. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20028 no. 109, Senlis, 17 September 1414.
55. See biographical notes to the appendix for details.
56. Enguerran de Monstrelet, La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet, (ed.) L. Douet d'Arcq (Paris, 1857-62), tV, pp. 449-450.
57. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241, p. 695.

58. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3642 no. 802, Blois, 13 August 1441.
59. Agathe Lafortune-Martel, Fête Noble en Bourgogne au XV^e siècle (Montreal, 1984), p. 52.
60. Monstrelet, op. cit., tV, pp. 443-4. The collar of the Golden Fleece appears in an inventory of the jewels of the duke and duchess of Orléans, drawn up in 1456, AN.KK 272 f^o 1v^o.
61. Provision is made for the upkeep of the porcupine at Blois over the winter 1448-1449, AN. KK 270 f^o 15ro.
62. BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013, f^o 26; D'Arcy J.D. Boulton, The Origin and Development of the Curial Orders of Chivalry, 1330-1470 (Oxford D.Phil., 1975), p. 19, for the reference relating to Louis Chabot.
63. Damien was of Italian origins, probably Asti, who served first as the duke's "Argentier" from 1448 and was replaced by his son André in 1455 when he became "Receveur des aides" in Asti, Pierre Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans, 1394-1465 (Paris, 1911), p. 602. AN.KK 271, the first account of "Andrien Damyen, Argentier" 1 July 1455-30 June 1456 notes Benoist's promotion.
64. Le Voys was ducal secretary from c.1452 (BN. P. orig. 2291 no. 3). Champion, op. cit., p. 599.
65. Doulcet was Maitre de la Chambre aux Deniers (AN KK 270, f^o 1).
66. See notes to Appendix A for biographical details.
67. Pierre Dubois, "Chronique de la Maison de Challant", in Archivum Augustanum, IV (Aosta, 1970), (ed) Lino Colliard, p. 77, "Durant ce temps, Jacques de Challand tiroit tousjour oultre, a honneur, en frequentant les cours des grans seigneurs, comme du duc d'Orlyans, dont it estoit de l'ordonne du camail...".
68. There have been a number of works devoted to the Order of the Collar; the following contain either copies of the statutes or a catalogue of its members and discuss its early history. François Capre, Catalogue des Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Collier de Savoie, dict de L'Annonciade (Turin, 1665); L. Bordone, Memorie per O.S.S. Annunziata (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Mss Storia Patria 74, 1750); Vittorio Amadeo Cigna Santi, Dell'Ordine Supremo di Savoia, detto prima del Collare indi della Santissima Annunziata (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Mss. Storia Patria, 759, 1784); Luigi Cibrario Statuts et Ordonnances du tres noble Ordre de l'Annonciade... (Turin, 1840), and Opuscoli (Turin, 1841); count Amédée de Foras, Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Collier de Savoie, dit de l'Annonciade (Grenoble, 1878); Gaudenzio Claretta, Statuti Antichi Inediti e Statuti Recenti dell'Ordine Supremo del SS Annunziata (Turin, 1881). More recently Eugene Cox has discussed the order in The Green Count of Savoy (Princeton, 1967), pp. 179 et seq. The date of the foundation of the Collar has varied from 1355 (Favyn, Vulson de la Colombière), 1361 (Cigna Santi) and 1362 (Capre, Cibrario). The accepted date now, is 1364, although the year 1362 has proven difficult to dislodge. In 1962 an Elenco dei Cavalieri dell'Ordine Supremo della SS Annunziata (Turin, 1962), was drawn up to celebrate the 600th anniversary of its foundation.

69. D.J.D. Boulton, The Knights of the Crown, op. cit., pp. 249-270, is the most recent study of the order and is a worthy general examination of its statutes and the motives and membership of the original foundation of 1364, but does not tackle the subsequent development of the order in any great depth.
70. AST. Archivi di Corte, Ordine Militarie, mazzo 1, no. 5 - "La compaignie du cigne noir se sera par la maniere que sensuit ...". These statutes are published in Cibrario's Opuscoli op. cit., and in Cox, op. cit., pp. 359-361.
71. AST. Archivi di Corte, Ordine Militarie, mazzo 1, no. 4 contains the text of the statutes drawn up at Chatillon en Dombes, 30 May 1409, and the later additions of 13 February 1434, Pierre-chatel.
72. The following quotations are from Dino Muratore, "Les Origines de l'Ordre du Collier de Savoie, dit de l'Annonciade", Archives Heraldiques Suisses, 23 (1909), p. 7, for Cabaret, and Jehan Servion, Geste et chroniques de la Mayson de Savoie ed. F.E. Bollati (Turin, 1879), pp. 113-116. There is no printed edition of Cabaret's chronicle.
73. Chazaud (ed.), La Chronique du Bon Duc Louys de Bourbon, op. cit., ch. 3.
74. AST. Inv. 38, no. 63, Compte d'Antoine Maillet, 19 March 1361-7 February 1365.
75. Muratore, op. cit., p. 74 and for what follows.
76. AST. Inv. 16. no. 92, f^o 267. The memorial service was for Philippe, count of Geneva son of Amédée VIII who died on 3 March 1444 and Humbert, bastard of Savoy, count of Romont, who died 13 October 1443. Other collars described in the household accounts are:- "unum colare cum divisi domini", 1392 (AST. Inv. 16 no 39 f^o67r^o), "unum colarum ad nodos" purchased in Paris 1376 (AST Inv. 38 no. 68:98), "un collier d'or ... a sa tissu noir ... et a sa devise de noux e deson mot de fert", bought Paris, 23 June 1409 (AST Inv. 16 no 35 f^o10r^o), "un collier dor ... a lectres de lordre de Savoye, fert...", December 1471 (AST. Inv. 16 no.118 f^o111r^o).
77. AST. Inv. 38 Mazzo 2, no. 13.
78. AST. Inv. 38 no. 19, f^o 8 and Inv. 16, no. 42, f^o173r^o. Amédée VIII was particularly fond of displaying as many of the dynastic and personal devices as possible. A lasting example of this is the illuminations of the "Apocalypse" manuscript, painted by Jehan Bapteur c.1428-1432, the margins of which repeat the motto "FERT" and the love knot, with the cross of Savoy in the corners. This manuscript is now in Geneva but some of the illuminations are reproduced in C. Gardet, De la Peinture du Moyen Age en Savoie: un livre d'Heures du Comte de Romont, futur Duc Amé IX de Savoie (Annecy, 1981).

79. AST. Inv. 16, no. 37, f^o311r^o. Much later, in 1473, two horse trappings were made to offer at Pierrechâtel at the memorial service of the dukes Louis and Amédée IX, one "de la devise des colliers", the other "de la devise de las et de fert", AST. Inv. 16, no. 121, f^o65v^o.
80. Muratore, op. cit., p. 7.
81. Samuel Guichenon, Histoire Généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoye (Turin, 1778), tIV, Preuves, pp. 216-218.
82. Jean Letanche, "La Chartreuse-Forteresse de Pierre Châtel en Bugey", Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, 47 (1909), pp. 426-445; AST. Inv. 16, no. 35, f^o100r^o.
83. AST. Inv. 16 no 63 f^o116v^o, - "pro suis expensis faciendis eundo de precepto dicti domini nostri ad omnes abbacia ... ducatos sabaudie", 16 June 1417, and Inv. 16, no. 65, f^o312, for a trip from Rippaille to Haultecombe abbey "pro certis scripturis", February 1419.
84. "Statuti originali par l'ordine del Collare", AST. Archivi di Corte, op. cit., 30 May 1409. All references to the statutes are from these unless otherwise indicated.
85. Servion, op. cit., p. 115.
86. "Laddicion et chapitres de lordre ... faite a pierre chastel le trezeyme jour de fevrier lan mil quatezens et trente-quatre", AST. Archivi di Corte, op. cit., f^o6r^o.
87. M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry. War and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages (London, 1981), p. 35.
88. For what follows see, André Folliet, Histoire des Maréchaux de Savoie (Paris, 1868), pp. 42-46; R. Avezou, "La Décadence sous Louis 1^{er} et Amédée IX", Cahiers de Savoie, (1975), pp. 51-61.
89. Pierre Du Bois, Chronique de la Maison de Challant, op. cit. A servant of Jacques, c^{te} de Challant, in 1460, Dubois says that Compeys "tegnait main et partie pour les Chypriens", pp. 77-8.
90. Du Bois, ibidem., p. 78. Pierre de Menthon, seigneur de Montrottier, after long and distinguished service to the dukes of Savoy as squire, then chamberlain and councillor (AST. Inv. 16, no. 57 shows him as a squire as early as 1412; by 1426 he was chamberlain) and baillif of Geneva in 1426, 1428, 1432 and 1433, was assassinated by Compeys at Chambéry in 1455. Biographical details are to be found in Ugo Gherner, "Reclutamento di dirigenti, mobilità della corte e circolazione di esperienze nei domini sabaudi" in Giacomo Jaquero e Il Gotico Internazionale (eds.) Enrico Castelnuovo and Giovanni Romano (Turin, 1979).

91. La reine Marie-José, La Maison de Savoie, Amédée VIII: le Duc qui devint Pape (Paris, 1962), vol. 2 no. 1, pp. 429-430.
92. Georges Delomier, "Charles VII en Forez, Octobre 1452", in Bulletin de la Diana, vol. XLIII, no. 1, pp. 38-9.
93. Guichenon, op. cit., tIV pp. 26-27.
94. Timoleon Chapperon, "Jacques de Montmayeur: Etude historique" in Mémoires de L'Académie Impériale de Savoie, 2^e serie, VIII, 1866, pp. 243-290; M. Mugnier, "Information sur la Procédure de Montmayeur", MDS (1887), tXXVI.
95. D'Arcy Boulton, op. cit., p. 254.
96. AST. Inv. 16 no. 35, f^o94v^o - "a mestre Pierre le dourier pour l'argent faczon et doreure des lacs et devise du collar de Mons^r que lou offrit a la sepulture Mons^r .. et le quel lacz estoit hostez par les gens de larcevesque de Tharentayse qui en avoit pourte le dit collar".
97. AST. Inv. 16, no. 39, f^o67r^o - 26 February 1393.
98. "Registre obituaire de la chartreuse de Pierre-châtel" partly transcribed in Jean Letanche, "La Chartreuse-Forteresse de Pierre Châtel en Bugey" in MDS t47, (1909), pp. 499-502.
99. Guichenon, op. cit., tIII, p. 20.
100. Testaments of the Challant are given in Orphée Zanolli, Les Testaments des Seigneurs de Challant (Aoste, 1974), that of Girard du Ternier in César Duval, Ternier et Saint Julien (Geneva, 1879), App. 1.
101. D'Arcy Boulton, op. cit., p. 267, makes the common error of confusing the funeral ("obseques") with the memorial service ("sepulture"). The Collar statutes clearly refer to the latter, as is borne out by the histories of the individual knights.
102. Statuta Sabaudiae (Turin, 1487), Book Five, f^o77v^o "De statu viduali et lugubri baronum et banneretorum".
103. Biographical details are to be found in Broccard, Chevaliers et Officiers de l'Ordre de l'Annonciade (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Mss Storia Patria 757) and Mario Zucchi, 1 Governatori dei Principi Reali di Savoia (Turin, 1925), p. 9.
104. AST. Inv. 16 no. 61, f^o319, 601r^o; Amédée spent over 3777 florins for Villar's funeral at Chassaigne, f^o582r^o to 583r^o.
105. AST. Inv. 16 no. 65, f^o134r^o. Inv. 16 no. 66 f^o516r^o refers to payment made to the Venetian Gregorio Bono "familiari, servitori et pictori domestico" (no. 62 f^o107v^o) c1413-1430, in late January 1420 "pro pictura per ipsum facta in petri Castri pro sepultura principio Achaye". The exact nature of this artwork is unclear, though it was in all probability, the prince's arms or hatchments.

106. AST. Inv. 16, no. 92, f^o263r^o "sattin noirs" for "une chasuble ung diacre ung subdiacre trois estolles trois manipolles ... et trois albes"; f^o264 - "trois banieres et trois coctes darmes qui furent offertes A pierre chastel Au sevelliment de monditseigneur de geneve de monseigneur de Romont et de monsieur de grolee par les chivalliers de lordre present monditseigneur lequell offrit Adonques leurs colliers"; f^o267r^o - payment for making the collars including that of "monditseigneur de Geneve"... "A sa devise du plumas". At a later date the dukes let their obligations in this respect slide. In 1478 the Prior of Pierrechâtel petitioned the new Duke Philibert for the vestments that were due to the monastery after the deaths of his father Amédée (d. 1472) and his grandfather Louis (d. 1465), AST. Inv. 16, no. 128, f^o76v^o.
107. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The commentaries of Pius II, (transl.) F.A. Gragg (London, 1959), p. 221.
108. Piccolomini, op. cit., p. 221. Monstrelet, op. cit. tV p. 111-2, who confuses the Order of St Maurice with the Collar, describing the former as "fondée de tres long temps par les predecesseurs dycelui duc". He provides details on the costume of the order, "grey robe, long cloak, grey hood with a liripipe ("chaperon gris a courte cornette") of about a foot long and a bright red bonnet ... and above the robe a gilt belt, and over the cloak, a cross of gold, just like the emperors of Germany wear". The grey robes are corroborated in the accounts of the order for the year 1434-5, showing their manufacture for all the members, see Max Bruchet, Le Château de Ripaille (Paris, 1907), Preuve LXVI, pp. 491 et seq.
109. The Order of St Maurice was not dissolved in 1439 on Amédée's election to the papacy as suggested by Boulton, op. cit., p. 256. Claude du Saix became dean of the order after Amédée's elevation and remained so until his death in 1460, Marie-José, op. cit., t2, p. 123 n.1.
110. Boulton, "Origin and Development...", thesis, op. cit., p. 317.
111. General background information is given in J. Camus, "La Cour de Duc Amédée VIII à Rumilly en Albanais, Revue Savoisienne, tXLII (1901), pp. 295 et seq.; Lino Martini, Savoïardi e Piemontesi nello Stato Sabaudo, t1, 1418-1536 (Rome, 1960).
- AST. Inv. 16, no. 65, f^o136v^o, et seq., for details of equipment purchased; f^o314 for the prohibition against other monies. The other members of the Collar who, apart from Louis de Savoy, had recently died, were Jean Panserot de Serravalle (28 September 1418) and Jehan de la Chambre, Viscount of Maurienne (25 August 1418).
112. For what follows refer to Monstrelet, op. cit., tV, p. 112, who mentions the event but does not elaborate on the ceremonial; Bruchet, op. cit., p. 93 and Preuve LX for a list of those present. AST. Inv. 16 no. 80, f^o153 gives details of the robes worn by the two princes and their pages, f^o269r^o for the gifts given to the heralds.

113. Lists of members of the Collar are to be found in Capre, Cibrario, Foras, Broccard, details given above. Also useful is Fred-Th. Dubois, "Les Chevaliers de L'Annonciade du Pays de Vaud", Archives Heraldiques Suisses (1911), pp. 78-83, 129-140 and 177-187.
114. These declarations are noted in two different hands at the foot of the Statutes of 1409 (loc. cit.). The Statutes themselves had originally been sealed by the fifteen knights of the order, although four seals are now missing. Reading from right to left these are, the Count of Savoy, Louis prince of Achaye, Thomas de Genève-Lullin, Oddon de Villars, Humbert de Villars-Seyssel, Jean de la Chambre, Yblet de Challant, Jean de la Baulme, Humbert de Thoire-Villars, Louis de Montjoie, Girard Ternier, Boniface de Challant, Anthoine de Grolee, Humbert, bastard of Savoy, and Jean de Vernay. Three of these at least, Oddon de Villars, Yblet de Challant and Thomas de Genève-Lullin, were knights of the Collar under Amédée VII.
115. L. Cibrario, Origine e Progressi delle Istituzioni della Monarchia di Savoia tl Storia (Florence, 1869), p. 74 quoting the "Registrum consilii".
116. The Golden Fleece itemised heresy, treason and flight from battle or some other "enorme et reprochable cas", as sufficient grounds for expulsion. The knights of the order, with the exception of Emperors, kings and dukes, could not belong to other orders without the consent of the chapter, Boulton, "The Origin and Development...", thesis, op. cit., pp. 273-4.
117. For example, Humbert de Villars Seyssel, last comte de la Roche, with lands in the Vaudois and Burgundy.
118. François was abbé de Staffarde, St André de Verceil, d'Aulps and d'Abondance, bishop of Geneva and archbishop of Auch (1483). Pierre, abbé of St André de Verceil, became bishop of Geneva at the age of 10 in 1450, dying young eight years later. Jean-Louis was bishop of Maurienne in 1451 and Archbishop of the Tarentaise in 1457 (Ct Amédée de Foras, Armorial et Nobiliaire de l'Ancien Duché de Savoie (Grenoble, 1863), tV, "Maison de Savoie"; Marie José, op. cit., t2, p. 296.
119. Cox, op. cit., pp. 180, 184-5; Muratore, op. cit., p. 59 et seq.
120. In July 1416 he notified the kings of France and England of the journey he had "promised to make to the Holy Sepulacre" Marie-José, t2, p. 118. Several of the knights of the Collar did go on crusade, apart from the first founders, - Humbert, bastard of Savoy on the Nicopolis Crusade and Boniface de Challant.
121. Dubois, op. cit., p. 38. There are problems with the chronology of Dubois' narrative. If Zanolli is correct in dating Boniface's birth at 1368, he would have gone to France in 1389 according to Dubois, and it would have been 1400 before his return from the Holy Land. Gherner claims he was appointed to be Marshal as early as 1384 (op. cit., p. 105), Marie José prefers 1396 (op. cit. t2, p. 251) while Folliet suggests 1397 (op. cit., p. 24-5) which seems more feasible.

122. Folliet, op. cit., p. 60.
123. Folliet, op. cit., pp. 24-5; Marie-José, t1 pp. 207-8, 360 and passim.
124. S. Guichenon, Histoire de Bresse et de Bugey (Lyon, 1650), t111, p. 23 et seq.: Broccard, op. cit., p.158; DNF.
125. Broccard, op. cit., p. 224; AST. Inv. 16 no 98, f°204 notes his presence in the ducal council in 1407.
126. Marie-José, op. cit., t1, p. 246 et seq.: Nicholas Jorga, Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces (Saint Denis, 1893).
127. Marie-José, op. cit., t1, p. 129 et seq.; C. Duval, "La Réunion du Comté de Genevois à la Savoie par Amédée VIII de Savoie, le 5 aout 1401", Revue Savoisiëne, 50 (1909), Boulton, Knights of the Crown, op. cit., p. 377.
128. Biographical details on the Challant are given in Folliet, Broccard, Marie-José and Gherner. The Dubois quotes are found on pages 21 and 71 (op. cit.). Jacques de Challant's deeds at the pas darmes at Dijon are described at some length by Dubois who was probably an eye witness, pp. 63-73. Jacques' supposed membership of the order of the Porcupine has already been described above.

Yblet de Challant, was the first of the Collar Knights to have a memorial service according to the statutes of 1409 - "Anno Domini 1409, die 25 mensis septembris obiit Eballus alias Ybletus dominus Montisjoveti, miles de Colare, cui sepultura secundum ordinationem Colaris fuit prima celebrata - adventu Domini anno predicto", Zanolli, op. cit., p. 118.
129. Boulton, Knights of the Crown, op. cit., p. 270.
130. Fred.-Th. Dubois, Les Chevaliers de l'Annonciade..., op. cit., p. 136.
131. P.S. Lewis, B.I.H.R (1964), op. cit., p. 175; Huizinga, op. cit., p. 83, describes the fifteenth century foundations as conforming to "the primitive conception of a club, of a game, of an aristocratic federation" of slight importance and high aspirations.
132. D. Poirion, Le poète et le prince, l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans (Paris, 1965), p. 53.
133. Boulton, Knights of the Crown, op. cit., p. 398.

134. A contemporary copy of the statutes decorated with the coloured coats of arms of its members is to be found in BN. Ms. fr. 25204. Other later copies are by Claude Menard (BN Ms. fr. 5605) and in the manuscript Clairambault no. 1309, folios 1-75. A printed version is contained in Dom Auguste Calmet, Histoire de la Lorraine, tIV, Preuves, col. cxcix-ccxij. The copy of the "Actes, arrests et conclusions..." in BN. Ms. Cl. 1241, was extracted in 1658 from a register of Jean de Charnières, first greffier of the order, kept by his descendants.

The parchment for the "Livre des Blazons ..." was purchased from Pierre de Mante, René's almoner c.1446-1451 (AN. P 1334¹⁴, f0149v0).
135. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309, pp. 78-105 for extracts from the Registre, relating to the Crescent. An edited version is to be found in T. de Quatrebarbes, René d'Anjou. Oeuvres Complètes, tI, (Angers, 1844), pp. 76-78.
136. The relevant accounts are AN. P1334¹⁴ - Comptes de l'hotel, l'argenterie du roi de Sicile and Compte du tresorier de Provence (1447-1449) and Archives. Dept. des Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, Compte de l'argenterie du roi René (1451-1454).
137. Henri Moranvillé, Inventaire de l'Orfèvrerie et des Joyaux de Louis 1^{er} Duc d'Anjou (Paris, 1906), pp. 218-219. The inventory also mentions an elaborately designed tabernacle which incorporated "la croix double, semblable en facon et en couleur a la vraie Croix dont nous avons encommencie et prins l'Ordre", ditto, p. 208. It is interesting to note the presence of an heraldic brooch bearing a boar on a terrace with a white rose inside a garter, bearing the Garter motto, among the items in this inventory.
138. The statutes of the "Levrier Blanc" are given in BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241, pp. 733-5.
139. Juvenal des Ursins, op. cit., p. 7.
140. The quote is from a report by Filippo Maria Visconti's ambassadors at Nancy in May 1445, given in M.G.A. Vale, Charles VII (London, 1974), p. 97. Much earlier in 1442, in his "avis" to the duke of Burgundy, Gillebert de Lannoy suggested a rapprochement between the latter and the house of Anjou "pour ce que l'en dist que le roy de Secille et Charles d'Anjou et les leurs ont grant auctorite, pooir et gouvernement autour du auctorite..", Charles Potvin, Oeuvres de Gillebert de Lannoy (Louvain, 1878), p. 298.
141. Elia Colombo, "Re Renato, alleato del duca Francesco Sforza contro i Veneziani", Archivio Storico Lombardo, ser III, I (1894), Documenti, I, pp. 105-6.
142. Boulton, The Knights of the Crown, op. cit., p. 379. Alfonso was the first king to be elected to the Order and only accepted after "lengthy negotiations".
143. Joan Evans, Art in Medieval France (Oxford, 1969), p. 193.

144. G. Leseur, Histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix, (ed.) H. Courteault, (Paris, 1893-1896), p. 147.
145. Vulson de la Colombière, Le vray théâtre d'honneur de la chevalerie ou le miroir heroique de la noblesse (Paris, 1648), t1, p. 83.
146. Millard Meiss, Manegina as Illuminator (New York, 1957), plate facing page 6. The manuscript itself is in Paris, Bibl. Arsenal MS 940.
147. See Appendix B. The matter was first raised by René at Saumur, 30 September 1450 and it was again discussed at the meeting held on 23 September 1451 at Cassenove.
148. BN. P. orig. 1478, Haraucourt, no. 20, Letters granting Andre de Haraucourt membership, Angers, 23 September 1462. Two seals were made towards the end of 1448, a small silver seal and a great seal. On 26 November, Charlot Raoulin, one of the principal goldsmiths of the king, was paid for re-engraving the legend on the great seal "pour ce quelles estoient en francois et elles devoient estre en latin" AN. P1334¹⁴ f^o156r^o.
149. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309 f^o78^B and f^o79.
150. AN. P 1334⁶ f^o233 and BN Ms. Clairambault 1309 f^o 81.
151. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309, f^o81 - "Lettre escrete ... par le Roy de Sicile au Juge d'anjou, au Tresorier de l'Ordre et au president des Comptes de Vendre au Transporter la maison de feu Jean Joye pour employer au parement de la messe de lordre du Croissant", 15 April 1459.
152. Calmet, op. cit. T.III, Preuves. col. DCLXXVI.
153. See Appendix B, October 1450.
154. Meiss, op. cit., facing page 6.
155. Françoise Robin, "La Politique Religieuse des Princes d'Anjou - Provence et ses Manifestations Littéraires et Artistiques, 1360-1480", La Littérature Angevine Médiévale, (Angers, 1981), p. 161, Louis I wished his body to be buried in the Sante-Chapelle, Paris, but his heart at the cathedral of Angers.
156. Calmet, op. cit., col. ccx - "non voulant soy dire n'appeller chef d'iceluy, n'en attribuer a soy la gloire et louange, mais icelle donner au benoist et glorieux arche martyr Monsieur Saint Maurice, patron et chef dudit Ordre, comme plusieurs fois l'a dit et remontre..".
157. See Appendix B, Angers, 27 September 1452.

158. Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 196, Anonymous account of the English ambassadors' visit to Tours, 1444, f^o156r^o.
159. Leseur, op. cit., p. 147, "... et estoit monte sur ung coursier a unne housseure de drap de veloux a couleur de pourpre, brochee d'or .. et sur son harnois portoit unne manteline de mesme".
160. AN. P1334⁹, f^o123r^o - "... lesquelx freres et compaignons de lordre alentrer dicelluy seront tenuz de laisser et laisseront toute autre ordre se aucun en avoient soit de prince ou de compaignie excepte empereurs Roys et ducs qui avec ce present ordre pourront porter lordre dont Ilz seront chiefs moiennent le gre et consentement de nous ou de nos successeurs ... Et pour ce que notre trescher et tresame oncle le Roy de Sicile a puis nagueres Receu de par nous ledit ordre et paravent avoit accoustume de porter lordre de croissant, Nous considere le contenu oudit article ... Incluans a sa priere et Requeste avons consenti et consentons quil puisse et luy loyse porter quont bon luy semblera ledit croissant avecques lordre de mons^r saint michel...".
161. Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o89r^o - 10 aulnes of crimson velvet "pour ung manteau de lordre du croissant" purchased for 110 livres. Laval was Grand Veneur as early as 1445 (BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309, f^o158). In 1475, his office of Maître des Eaux et Forêts d'Anjou was promised to Hardouin de Maille after his death, and the Captaincy of Saumur, to Loys Cossa (Bouches-du-Rhône, B272 f^o3v^o). In February 1473 he was made Seneschal of Anjou (AN. P1334⁹ f^o194v^o).
162. Cossa does not appear to have been knighted, always figuring as "escuier". Count of Troya, Seneschal of Provence (Bouches-du-Rhône, B15 f^o102-5, 1460) councillor and chamberlain, Cossa was involved in innumerable embassies of importance, to Lyon in 1447 on the subject of the Schism, in 1448 to Rome, in 1453 to Venice to discuss the proposals for peace. A stalwart of René's Italian campaigns, he returned to his own country in the army of Jean de Calabre. The tomb erected by René to his memory, in the church of St Marthe at Tarascon, shows Cossa with the Crescent tucked, unusually, under his left arm. See Joseph Joubert, L'Ordre du Croissant et ses Chevaliers Italiens (Venice, 1906), pp. 6-8.
163. Letter granting Jean de Beauvau, sg^r des Roches, the office of Seneschal of Anjou, 14 April 1458, AN. P1334⁷ f^o11lv^o.
164. Bertrand, born c.1400, had served Louis II d'Anjou before his son and Charles VII as Bailli-governor of Touraine in 1446. He became Seneschal of Anjou "grand maitre d'hotel" in 1457 and captain of the castle of Angers and finally first president of the Chambre des Comptes to Louis XI in 1462. He married Blanche in 1467 (AN. P1334⁸ f^o196). Details in Emile Perrier, "Les Chevaliers du Croissant, essai historique et héraldique", extract from L'Annuaire du Conseil Héraldique de France (Vannes, 1906), pp. 124-5; see also the Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise (DNF).

165. Louis de Beauvau, numbered among René's most favoured courtiers. Before joining René in Italy he was made Seneschal of Anjou in 1437 which position he held until becoming Seneschal of Provence in 1449. In 1455 he was made governor of Bar. He was named testamentary executor to René on 29 May 1453. He shared an interest in tournaments with René and died in 1462. See Perrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8, and the *DNF*. Lecoy, *op. cit.*, t1, p. 301 for reference to marriage treaty.
166. BN. P. orig. 1478, no. 20, under the seal of the order, the letter commissions Jean de Fenestrang, marshal of Lorraine and Bar, Jean count of Nassau and Sarrebruck, Saladin d'Anglure sg^r d'Estoges and Thierry de Lenoncourt, baillif of Vitry, to receive Haraucourt's oath.
167. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309, f^o201. The summons to Jean du Bellay is dated from Baugé, 7 August. This could be any number of years prior to René's final departure from Anjou at the end of 1471. He could have been at Baugé, some little distance from Angers, in 1456-7, 1462, 1465-9 and 1471. As surviving evidence suggests that Crescent activity was heaviest between 1448 and 1462, it is likely that this letter relates to the latter years of the 1460s.
168. Calmet, *op. cit.*, tIV, col. ccx.
169. Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o29r^o. "A Robert Jehan escrivain ... Quarante cinq sous a lui ordonnez pour parchemin et sa peine et sallaire d'avoir escript les chappitres de lordre pour les devoir envoyer au duc de millan.."; and later, "pour sa peine d'avoir Relie le livre des chappitres de lordre couvert de velux pour envoie au duc de millan...", ditto, f^o33r^o. Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, was elected into the order on 26 August 1449.
Ditto, f^o80v^o-81r^o for vestments "pour servir le jour saint Maurice" and "le lendemain de la feste dudit saint a le messe davant messeigneurs de lordre".
170. See Appendix B, 30 September 1450.
171. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309 - the entries relating to ceremonial and the annual assembly are far more expansive than those given in Calmet, and is therefore the source for the following information.
172. This was discussed at one of the earliest assemblies, 22 September 1450. See Appendix B.
173. Most orders chose red as the colour of their formal attire, partly because of its usual use for robes of state and partly because crimson silks and velvets ranked among the most expensive of materials. Francesco Sforza who was also entitled to wear the ermine, was never present at any of the early assemblies.
174. The Mantegna depiction of a meeting of the Crescent knights (Meiss, *op. cit.*) conforms to the description of the Crescent formal robes - red mantles of various hues in keeping with their status as knights or squires, and the black hat trimmed in gold. There is no sign of the "souleil dor". No other reference appears in the statutes or elsewhere to this curious device.

175. Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479, f^o89r^o, January 1451.
176. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309, p. 80 - 23 April 1457 - "Mantellum de scarlata rubea foderatum de menuver gallice quam defuncti domini de Montigne pater suis existens vita sua durante de fratribus ordinis du croissant deferebat in solemnitatibus eiusdem ordinis per cujus ordinis statuta voluerunt Et patuerunt dicti fratres ordinis quod mantelli et quarteli (i.e. carreaux) fratrum decedencium sint et remaneant fabrice hujus Andegavie Ecclesie ob reverenciam Et honorem beatorum Mauricii sociorumque..".
177. Ut supra, p. 89, 94-7. The five cloaks received were those of Jean and Louis de Beauvau, Guillaume de la Jumellière, Loys de Bournon sire de Couldray and Gerard de Haraucourt, seigneur de Louppy. The chapter retained the "carreaux" - i.e. embroidered coats of arms placed on the seats during the annual assembly which allowed identification of those who were missing - of a number of deceased members including Jean de Calabre, Antonio Marcello, Francesco Sforza and Ferry de Vaudemont.
- In 1480 René instigated a search of the belongings of the late Benjamin le Roy for any surviving cloaks. A number of items were discovered in a chest - the ceremonial tabard of the King at Arms, a black velvet hat, ten "carreaux armoyez" and the crimson satin covering for the Senator's chair - but no cloaks (AN Pl334¹⁰, f^o231r^o-232r^o - letter to René from his "chambre des comptes" at Angers, 10 May 1480).
178. See Appendix B, 27 September 1452.
179. An inventory of the castle of Angers drawn up in December 1471, just after René's departure for Provence, includes "ung hault banc forme qui sert quant on tient le feste de lordre du croissant" among the contents of the room "ou souloit loger mons^r de nogen" (i.e. Saladin d'Anglure, sg^r de Nogent and d'Estoges and member of the Crescent), AN Pl335 f^o13.
180. See Appendix B, 27 September 1452.
181. Appendix B, 30 September 1450 and October 1450.
182. Appendix B, 27 September 1452. Another instance of concern with the minutiae of form is the agreement, made in council of 23 September 1451, that when the "pax", variously known as the "osculatorium" or the "tabula pacis" (a wooden, silver or ivory disc kissed after the "Agnus Dei"), was presented, no knight or squire should refuse, but "le premier a qui me sera presentee la prendra sans la renvoyer a l'autre." This is plainly an attempt to preclude the polite refusals and passing from one to another which could hold up a service (see Huizinga, op. cit., p. 45).
183. M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry (London, 1981), p. 57.
184. Poirion, op. cit., p. 24.
185. Boulton, The Knights of the Crown, op cit., p. xviii.
186. Ut supra, pp. 303-4.
187. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309, p. 75.

188. Boulton, ut supra, p. 381.
189. See Appendix, Saumur, 22 September 1450 - the matter was raised because of the death of the wife of Louis de Bournon, sire de Couldray. Like the 9 days of the Collar the 40 days represented a recognised stage in the mourning process, the "quarantaine".
190. Ramon Lull, The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (EETS, 1926), Chapter 3, p. 32 - Honoré Bouvet in Tree of Battles ed. G.W. Coopland (Liverpool, 1949) also refers to the "ancient custom of noble warriors who upheld justice, the widow, the orphan and the poor".
191. Richard Barber, The Knight and Chivalry (London, 1974), p. 81.
192. Froissart, Oeuvres ed, K. de Lettenhove, tII, p. 11.
193. Vulson de la Colombière, op. cit., p. 83.
194. Richard Firth Green, Poets and Prince pleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages (Toronto, 1980), p. 170.
195. See Appendix B, 30 September 1450 and 27 September 1452.
196. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., tI, pp. 272-3, n.4.
197. Bib. Arsenal no. 940 and Meiss op. cit., chapter 1.
198. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., tI, ch. 5 and Elia Colombo, op. cit., p. 389 no. 33 for Simonetta letter.
199. BN. P. orig. 1478 no. 20.
200. See Appendix B, Angers, December 1450.
201. See Appendix B, Saumur, 29 September 1450.
202. Perrier, op. cit., p. 130.
203. Appendix B, 30 September 1450 and December 1450.
204. Le Roy is described as Councillor and Secretary in the household administration in 1470 (Bouches-du-Rhône, B2491 f^o14v^o) and by 1476 was Vice-chancellor (ditto, B2496).
205. Appendix B, 16 January and 27 September 1452.
206. In August 1449 he received his pension of 200 livres tournois (AN P1334¹⁴ f^o185). In June he was paid 120 florins for a badge bearing the Crescent and the arms of St Maurice and the Senator, as directed by the statutes (ditto, f^o191).
207. In 1464-8 he was still being paid as a poursuivant (BN. Ms. fr. 7853 p. 1465) but by 1472 he was described as "concierge du chastel dangiers" and paid 100st to maintain its gardens (AN. P1334⁹ f^o160r^o). For Croissant's presence at René's funeral see "Procès-Verbal de l'Ensevelissement du corps du Roi René" in Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., Pièces Justificatives no. 93, p. 393.

208. Lists of the companions are given in Calmet, op. cit., tlll, col. ccxi-ccxii; F.L. de Villeneuve-Bargemont, Histoire de René d'Anjou, roi de Naples, duc de Lorraine et comte de Provence (Paris, 1825), vol. 2, p. 289, Favyn, op. cit., p. 540; all of these lists are incomplete however: BN. Ms. 1241 contains a fuller list including the names of the Neapolitans given the order in 1459.
 209. For the following see Perrier op. cit., pp. 127-8; Lecoy de la Marche, passim; A. Coville, La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435 (Paris, 1941). Between 1445 and 1456 Louis translated the Filostrato of Boccaccio into French under the title Troyle et Criseida. A principal councillor, he was named one of René's executors in the will of 29 May 1453. Among his offices he was also Governor of Bar and "Garde de la Tour de Marseilles".
 210. F. Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale, La Cour d'Anjou, XIV-XVe Siècle (Paris, 1970), p. 233.
 211. Ten meetings in all are recorded in BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241. Guy de Laval and Gilles de Mailles top with eight attendances each, Jean de Calabre, Louis de Bournon and Louis de Clermont with seven, Pierre de Champagne and René d'Anjou with six.
 212. Perrier, op. cit., pp. 145-6, the DNF and BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241. Thierry went into the service of Charles VII, Louis XI and the duke of Guienne, was captain of La Rochelle, but fought at Nancy with René II. Philippe was the greater favourite of René. In 1469 René granted him the comte de Norroy for "services since his youth" (Villeneuve Bargemont, tll. p. 298). From 1470 on he was lieutenant to René de Vaudemont, Governor of Bar. His first wife was Catherine de Beauvau, daughter of Bertrand, sg^r de Precigné.
 213. La Jaille, sg de la Rochetalbot, was brother of Pierre, Seneschal of Provence (1480), and Philibert, grand maitre d'hotel to René. After Isabel's death in 1453, Hardouin joined the household of Jean de Calabre as Councillor and chamberlain. Perrier, op. cit., p. 143; BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241, BN. Ms. fr. 7853, p. 1156. The "Formulaire" is published in Bernard Prost (ed.), Traicté de la Forme et Devis comme on faict les Tournois (Paris, 1878), pp. 135 et seq.
- Other Lorraine nobles in the order were Gerard de Haraucourt and his son Andre, Jean de Fenestrang and Simon and Saladin d'Anglure.
214. In the act of 1 July 1445, René admitted the impossibility of governing the two duchies adequately himself because of his absence on the "grands et haulx affaires touchant monseigneur le Roy et nous", Calmet, op. cit., tlll col. dclxxxvi.
 215. Perrier, op. cit., p. 119, BN. Ms. Clairambault 1309 and 1241, and DNF.

216. Perrier, op. cit., p. 139, BN Ms. Clairambault 1241, p. 929 and V. Lieutaud, "Le Registre de Louis III, Comte de Provence, Roi de Sicile et son Itineraire", in Annales de la Société d'Etudes Provençales, 1904, p. 221.
217. For what follows see Joubert, op. cit., pp. 6-8; Perrier, op. cit., pp. 136-138; BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241; Lecoy de la Marche op. cit., passim. BN Ms. fr. 24108 p. 70 contains Cossa's letter to Vaudemont. At the beginning of his testament drawn up on 15 September 1476, Cossa dates it according to the regnal year of "Triumphaliter victoriosissimo et Illustrissimo Principe", BN. Ms. fr. 4332 f^o36r^o.
218. In June 1451, as "echanson", he was paid 50 florins to arm himself for the coming Guienne campaign (Bouches-du-Rhône, B2479 f^o30v^o). By 1471 he was councillor and chamberlain and paid a pension of 700 florins for his services and expenses in Catalonia (ditto, B16 f^o110v^o). A letter recommending him to the deputies of Catalonia described him as "one of the most beloved and faithful servants we have, and we desire that he be well treated" (Lecoy de la Marche, t1 p. 370).
219. Joubert, op. cit., pp. 8 and 11; Perrier, op. cit., p. 155; Villeneuve-Bargemont, t111 p. 358. A Louis and Barthelemy Valori appear among the household of Yolande d'Anjou between 1427 and 1431 (BN. Ms. fr. 8588) and a Gabriel and Barthelemy between 1408 and 1414 (AN. KK 243).
220. Lecoy de la Marche, op. cit., t1, p. 205.
221. Colombo, op. cit., p. 82.
222. Joubert, op. cit., p. 11; BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241. In the accounts for the date September 1447, "Michel de Passis", was to be paid 644 florins, the interest on several sums of money loaned to the king (AN. P1334¹⁴ f^o51r^o).
273. The collar cost 60 ecus and had been taken from Louis de Beauvau, Seneschal of Anjou to give to Acciajuoli (AN. P1334¹⁴ f^o43v^o). His mission to Charles VII is described in Colombo, pp. 81-83 and a copy of the League charter is given in Documento 2, pp. 106-108. During the Lombard campaign Acciajuoli became increasingly exasperated by the activities of his French allies, and as relations cooled between Sforza, the Florentines and the Angevins, he was driven to exclaim "Questi francesi me raviggono el cervello: non so se sia el diffetto lor o la mia pocha intelligenza", Colombo, p. 375.
224. 10 November 1447, 10 florins to Spinola, "echanson" for the silver collar taken from him and given to Thomassin Spinola (AN. P1334¹⁴ f^o33r^o).

225. BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241 pp. 948-9. An account of the campaign of Jean de Calabre is given in Lecoy de la Marche, t1, pp. 287-295, 339-342.
226. "Cronica del Regno di Napoli", extracts given in Lecoy de la Marche, t11, Pièces Justificatives 100, p. 435.
227. Jehan de Bourdigné, Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine (ed.), H. de Quatrebarbes (Angers, 1842), p. 217.

APPENDIX A: FOOTNOTES

1. Seigneur de Saint-Chartrier, Knight, Councillor and Chamberlain to Louis d'Orléans. Remained in service of Orléans household after 1407 and was sent to England as a hostage with Jean d'Angoûleme (BL. Add. ch. 452, 61 and 62). Governor and Seneschal of the Limousin (1390-94, 1398-1418), and of the Angoûleme (1394-1407) - Nordberg, Les Ducs et la Royauté, op. cit., passim.
2. Pierre dit "Clignet" de Brébant, sg de Landreville, chamberlain to Louis and Charles VI. Seneschal of the Agenois (BN. Ms. fr. 23271 p. 412) and Admiral of France from 1 April 1405, replacing Renaud de Trie. He was detested by the Burgundians and their supporters. Biographical details are given in Henri Moranvillé, Le Songe Véritable, op. cit., p. 317 and C. de Pisan, Trois Ballades..., op. cit., pp. 387-8.
3. Seigneur d'Apilly, squire and then chamberlain to Louis, captain of Avranches (BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no 145, no 1374: AN. KK 27 fo 84), see also Christine de Pisan, Trois Ballades, op. cit., p. 385.
4. Chamberlain since 1398 (Archives du Loiret, Collection Joursanvault, 6J3 pièces 89-90), he remained in the service of Valentine Visconti after 1407. D.L. Galbraith, Scottish Seals from the Continent believed him to be of Scottish origins.
5. Squire and "premier pannetier" of Louis, captain of Châteaudun c.1400-1417 (BN. Ms. fr. 10432 no. 1800). He remained in the household of Charles until his death in 1426. A. de Foulques de Villaret, Louis de Coutes, Page de Jeanne d'Arc (Orléans, 1890) argued convincingly that Louis' father was Jehan de Coutes.
6. Flemish in origin, chamberlain to both Louis and Charles VI (BN. Ms. fr. 10432/1607), captain of Ardres in 1410. He died at Agincourt; Bozzolo and Loyau, La Cour Amoureuse, op. cit., p. 105.
7. A Poitevin who was serving in the household of Charles VI by 1388 (AN. KK 18 fo 140v^o). By 1396 he was chamberlain to Louis (BN. Pièces Originales 2153 no 220). Between 1402 and 1406 he explored the Canaries with Jean de Bethencourt. He remained an Orléanist after 1407 and was a signatory to the Declaration of St Ouen in 1411. See Bozzolo and Loyou, ut supra, p. 137 and L. Douet-d'Arcq, Choix de Pièces Inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1863), t1, pp. 344-6.
8. "Ecuier de Corps" - 1401 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20027/205).
9. /

9. "Marcoignet" or "Marconnay", "ecuyer de corps" and then "maitre d'hotel" to Louis (1403 - BN. P. orig. 1843 no. 15) and chamberlain to Charles VI. In 1407 he became captain of the town and castle of Marles (BN. P. orig. 1843 no. 16). By 1411 he had moved to the household of the Duke of Guyenne. He was killed with his son in the massacres of the Armagnacs, 1418 (Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris (ed.) Tuetey (Paris, 1881), p. 109 n.1).
10. Served in the household as an "ecuyer trenchant" from 1398 to 1403 (Archives du Loiret, Coll. Joursanvault, 6J6 pieces 4 and 35). In November 1403 he is entitled "ecuyer echanson" (BN. P. orig. 2155 no. 313).
11. One of Louis' earliest chamberlains, since 1389 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3638/129) until 1401 at least (BN Nouv. acq. fr. 20027/205).
12. Seigneur de la Ferté Imbert and de Gaules, Councillor, Marshall and Governor of the Duchy of Orléans, Seneschal of Perigord in 1386 (BN. P. orig. 2057 no. 8), signatory to the Declaration of St Ouen (Douet d'Arcq, op. cit., pp. 344-6), councillor and chamberlain to Philippe, c^{te} de Vertius, in 1420 (BL. Add. ch. 291).
13. Both Guiot and Jacques were in Louis' household. Guiot was illegitimate, a squire then chamberlain to the duke. In 1404 he bought the seigneurie of Montigny from Jehan de Roussay (BN. P. orig. 2464 no. 3). Jacotin held the position of "ecuyer tranchant" from 1396 (BN. P. orig. 2153 no. 216-7) and "ecuyer d'ecurie" from 1406 (Archives du Loiret, Coll. Joursanvault, 6J7 no. 71). He remained in the service of Charles d'Orléans until at least 1411 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3641 no. 584). See also Moranvillé, Le Songe Véritable, op. cit.
14. With Louis since his childhood and a great favourite of his, chamberlain since 1389 (BN. P. orig. 2152 no. 40) and of the king after 1395 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20027 no 155), and his councillor since 1400. On Louis' death he and his wife went into the service of Isabeau de Bavière, the Duke of Guyenne and finally that of the Duke of Burgundy (Bozzolo and Loyau, La Cour Amoureuse, op. cit., p. 109).
15. Y.A. Neal, Le Chevalier Poète: Jehan de Garençières, 1372-1415 (Paris, 1953), believed this Jean de Tilliers to be Jean de Garençières, junior (p. 61). Both served Louis and it is often difficult to identify one from the other.
16. In Louis d'Orléans service from 1400 (Archives du Loiret, 2J20, April 1400) as squire and "maître d'hôtel" accompanying him to Mouson to visit the Duke of Guelders. Captain of Pontorson (BN. P. orig. 3002 no. 29) he was sent to England as a hostage with Jean d'Angoulême and after his release he was made Captain of Blois (Moranvillé, Le Songe Véritable... and J. de Croy, Cartulaire de la Ville de Blois, 1196-1493 (Paris, 1907), p. 305).

17. Baron and later Count of Montrevel in Bresse and Sinopoli in Calabria, Bailli of Vaud and Lieutenant-General of Bresse in 1398-9, La Baume was very familiar with the court of France. Louis I d'Anjou placed him at the head of his troops in 1382 and rewarded his services with the title of count of Sinopoli. La Baume was also a member of the Savoyard Order of the Collar (c.1409). Charles VI made him his councillor, chamberlain and Marshal of France (1422) and for two months he was also Provost of Paris. He was retained as "echanson" and chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy in 1404. He does not feature prominently in the surviving records of the Orléans household (Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, (ed.) Aubert and Lachenaye-Desbois (Paris, 1980) [DNF] and Journal d'un Bourgeois, op. cit., p. 152).
18. He is described as "escuier tranchant" (BL. Add. ch. 3145).
19. Richart de Mariemaires dit Bellegarde was in the service of Louis as early as 1400, when he was sent on an unspecified mission to Luxembourg (Archives du Loiret, 2J20, 25 October 1400).
20. Began his career as pantler in 1398 (Archives du Loiret, 6J5: 119) and accompanied the duke to Mouson in 1401 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20027/205). He served Charles as "ecuyer pannetier" in 1413 and "ecuyer tranchant" in 1415 (Archives du Loiret, Collection Joursanvault, 6J8: 82-3; BN. P. orig. 383 no. 21).
21. Knight and chamberlain in 1415 (BL. Add. ch. 3153).
22. Appears on numerous occasions as cutting squire in the year 1415 (e.g. BL. Add. ch. 4316/7 - receipt for 100 livres tournois pension, 10 May 1415).
23. "Escuier d'Escuierie" to Louis from 1401 on, when he accompanied the Duke to Mouson (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20027/205). He is included in the "Ordonnance" of 1409 regulating Charles' household (AN K56^B no. 24). In 1404, he was Captain of Ainville (AN. KK 267 fo 81 v^o).
24. Chamberlain of Charles VI. The Journal d'un Bourgeois, op. cit. p. 109, notes that he survived the massacres of 1418.
25. One of the squires established by the 1409 "Ordonnance", Saillant was "ecuyer d'ecurie" in 1411 (BN. P. orig. 2157/460) and "ecuyer de corps" in 1412 and 1413 (BN. P. orig. 2606/36 and Archives du Loiret, Coll. Joursanvault 6J8: 87-8).
26. Son of Archambaut, and his lieutenant at Blois (AN. K56^a no 19 bis).
27. "Au bastard d'Orléans, ung collier d'argent, en facon de caumail, garny d'un porc espy d'or et d'une grosse perle pendant au col dudit porc espy, lequel es oit a feu Monditseigneur (i.e. Philippe de Vertus), et lequel mesdits seigneurs les executeurs lui ont donne ... en regart qu'il n'en a point, car le sien fut perdu a Paris lorsque les Bourgoignons y entrerent", from the "Compte de l'execucion du testament de Philippe, comte de Vertus" (AN KK 348) extracts printed in Leon de Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne (Paris, 1852) tlll pp. 274-282.

28. Anthoine and Baudouin were brothers, Geoffroy being Anthoine's son. A George de Montasic was later in the household of Marie de Clèves, 1456 and 1463 (AN KK 271 f^o 22 and 26: Archives du Loiret, 2J100:15).
29. Possibly the son of Charles de Châtillon, chamberlain and councillor to Charles VI in 1391 (DNF).
30. Son of Julien des Essarts, sg^r d'Ambleville (Bremond d'Ars-Migré, op. cit., p. 15).
31. Charles de Giresme, seigneur de Maucouvent was chamberlain in 1412 and 1413 (Archives du Loiret, 6J8: 2 and 44-7) and Keeper of the château de Yèvre (BL. Add. ch. 304).
32. A Jehan Gonyon received the ducal livery in 1456 and 1463 (AN KK 271 f^o 26r^o; Archives du Loiret, 2J100: 15).
33. Son of Bouchart de Mornay, seigneur de Saint-Germain and chamberlain to Charles in 1415 (BN. P. orig. 2606 no 57).
34. A Symonnet du Bos was "capitaine du Temple" in 1417 (Journal d'un Bourgeois, op. cit., p. 80). Probably a relation of Mansart du Bos, chamberlain and councillor to Louis d'Orléans, who was decapitated by the Burgundians in 1411 for his support of the Armagnacs. Siebon du Bos was one of two who refused the order (BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241, p. 695).
35. Seigneur of Castillon and Fources, son of Béraud de Castillon (D'Orlac, op. cit. p. 338 and Bremond d'Ars-Migré, op. cit. p. 16).
36. Bremond d'Ars-Migré says "Clèves" from a Norman family, but could this be Anthoine de Cluis who was given 200 livres from Charles VII to help pay for his ransom in 1438 (G. Dufresne de Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, 6 vols. (Paris, 1881-91), t111 p. 141n).
37. Refused the order along with Siebon du Bos (BN. Ms. Clairambault 1241, p. 695).
38. An Aimar d'Archiac was chamberlain to Charles in 1413 (BN. Ms. fr. 2160 no 50, quittance for 562 l. 10st., 28 January). Mid 15th century the captain of Chinon was a Jacques d'Archiac, baron of Lonzac and Levis (DNF).
39. The family of Arpajon originate from the Rodez. This is perhaps the brother of Jean I d'Arpajon who served the connétable de Richemont (De Beaucourt, op. cit. t111 p. 142 and DNF).
40. The Augy, or Angy, were a family of some importance in the Barrois. Guillaume d'Augy, lord of Immonville was councillor to René d'Anjou (DNF).

41. In 1441, he was one of the three "general councillors" governing the finances of the kingdom (De Beaucourt, op. cit., tIII. p. 465).
42. Perhaps this should read "Cailleau". A Jehan Cailleau was physician to Charles in 1442, receiving a pension of 120 livres tournois (BN. P. orig. 570). Thibaut Cailleau, a squire retained by Charles, lived in Asti (Champion, Vie de Charles d'Orléans, op. cit., p. 606).
43. Guillaume Cousinot, chancellor to Charles after 1415. In 1420 one of the executors of Philippe de Vertus. Author of the Geste des Nobles.
44. An Yvain de Cramailles received wages as guard of the château d'Acy in 1409 and was killed at Agincourt (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3641 no. 540).
45. Jehan le Flament became General of the ducal finances on 24 May 1454 replacing Jean Chardon.
46. Perhaps a relation of Oudin Pisselen who was pantler to the duke in 1452 (AN KK 271 f^o 22v^o, 26r^o) and later "echanson" and captain of château de Soissons (BN. P. orig. 2291/17). In 1380 Jehan de Pisselen dit le Begue, was "marechal du Roy" (AN. KK. 30 f^o 7r^o).
47. "Valet tranchant" of Charles VII.
48. Seigneur de Saint-Maxain. On the side of the duke of Alençon in the Praguerie, he was later Charles VII's chamberlain. De Beaucourt describes him as the "creature de la Tremoille" (Beaucourt, op. cit., tIII, pp. 124 n 292).
49. Jehan de Rochechouart, sg^r de Mortemar, councillor and chamberlain of Charles in 1426 (AN. KK 269 f^o 1); he appears in Charles VII's council in 1436 (De Beaucourt, op. cit., p. 280). A Guichart de Rochechouart was ducal chamberlain in 1410 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3641).
50. The surname is spelt variously as Rosnivines or Rosvignen. Of Breton origins, Jean was "premier echanson" to Charles VII until 1447 when he was replaced by his nephew Guillaume. Further members of the family were given the Camail in 1439 (De Beaucourt, op. cit., tIV p. 411).
51. Possibly a relation of Gilles Tournemine, sg de la Hunaudaye, a Breton (De Beaucourt, tV, pp. 273, 275).
52. Could this be Argouges, a family from Normandy? The Dictionnaire de la Noblesse notes a Jean d'Argouges who distinguished himself in the armies of Charles VII (DNF).

53. Béarnois family. Sancho Garsia d'Aure served both Gaston IV, count of Foix and Charles VII (DNF).
54. Seigneur de la Ferté-Hubert, cup bearer to Charles VII, baillif of Mantes and Meulon, governor of Montereau and Chartres (D'Orlac, op. cit., p. 339).
55. A Jehan de Rieux, sgr de Chastelneuf, appears among a list of 20 Bretons who were distributed sums of money by ambassadors pursuing the interests of the dukes of Berry, Orléans and Bourbon and the count of Alençon, with the duke of Brittany, 1 October 1410 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3641/571).
56. Seigneur de Cloye (Bremond d'Ars-Migré, op. cit., p. 18).
57. Several members of this family served the dukes of Orleans. Jehan, sire de Fontaines was a councillor to the latter and organised (c.1440) the collection of the taxes granted by Charles VII to aid the release of Jean d'Angoulême (BN. P. orig. 2158 no 547).
58. Nephew of the Bishop of Beziers.
59. Viscount of Joyeuse, seneschal and captain of Lyon in 1460 (D'Orlac, op. cit., p. 339).
60. Raoul de Laire was seneschal of Rouergue and chamberlain to Louis d'Orléans and Charles VI (Archives du Loiret, 2J21) and Louis de Laire was chamberlain to both Louis and Charles d'Orléans from 1402 to 1412. Guillaume de Laire, sgr de Corvillon was one of Louis' chamberlains from 1396.
61. Foulques de Marcilly was chamberlain to Louis from 1402 but appeared in his service as early as 1392 (Archives du Loiret, 6J3: 96).
62. Breton brothers. Hervé was a member of the Breton order of the Ermine in 1454. In 1450 he was a squire in Philip the Good's household. (De Beaucourt, op. cit., tV. p. 222n).
63. 'L'Estendart de Milly' was squire of the stables in Charles' household from 1444 to 1463 (BN. Orig. 2158/572-3; Archives du Loiret, 2J100: 15).
64. Nephews of Louis de Montjoie, bishop of Beziers.
65. D'Ars-Migré, op. cit., p. 18, claims this is Jean or Philibert du Puy. Gilbert du Puy was also a recipient of the order in 1439. Pierre du Puy was cup bearer to Charles in 1411 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 3641 no 582). A Jehan du Puy, grandson of Raimon Fricon, "premier maitre d'hotel", appears as page in 1455 (AN. KK 271 fo 15ro). Louis du Puy, seigneur de Couldray Monin, chamberlain of Charles VII and Louis XI (D'Orlac, op. cit., p. 344) was given the order in 1442.

66. These 12 Bretons were created knights of the Porcupine/Camail, by letters of 11 November 1440 (and not 1448 as stated by Bremond d'Ars-Migré, op. cit., p. 35), which states that this was granted in favour of "our very dear and well beloved cousin Pierre de Bretagne" (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013, f^o 20). De Carne was "maitre d'hotel" and chamberlain to the duke of Brittany, De Callac performing the same office for the duchess. De Quelen, seigneur de Brontai was High Chamberlain, Captain General of the ducal archers and Grand Master of the Artillery. Yves de Lanneon was Vice Admiral of Brittany. Both De Carne and de Quelen, were knights of the Ermine (Bremond d'Ars Migré, op. cit., pp. 38-41).
67. Seigneur de la Grève and Montcontour, entitled "squire" in the letter granting him the order, later councillor and chamberlain of Louis XI (Bremond d'Ars Migré, op. cit., p.24).
68. Jean Harpedanne de Belleville was chamberlain to Charles VI before becoming Louis'. Some time after 1405 he passed into the service of the dukes of Burgundy (perhaps after Louis' assassination) and was killed at Montereau seeking to protect his master from the blows of his assassins. His son, also Jean, made his testament in 1434. These three may be his grandsons (DNF).
69. Seneschal and governor of the Angoumois, captain of Cognac (D'Orlac, op. cit., p. 343).
70. Chamberlain and councillor to Charles d'Orléans, seigneur de Montlieu (D'Orlac, op. cit., p. 344).
71. Charles d'Orléans' chamberlain, he was directed to hear the oaths of the three de Lasterie, in January 1444 (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013 f^o 26).
72. Cup bearer of Charles VII.
73. Seigneur de Martigné in Anjou, eldest son of Geoffroy de la Genoillerie sg^r de Martigné and de l'Effrière in the Maine (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013 f^o 30).
74. De Bernetz came to France in 1431 in the service of the Marquis of Saluces. He was the son of Jean de Bernetz, a squire in the household of Charles d'Orléans. He was killed in the service of Louis XI (Bremond d'Ars-Migré, op. cit., p. 34).
75. Clairambault states that Charles d'Orléans stopped at Chalon-sur-Saône to reward this former page of his father's who had been with him at his assassination, with the order. Because of this honour, he says, Philip the Good confiscated his Burgundian territories (BN. Nouv. acq. fr. 20013, f^o 31).

76. Seigneur de Courcelles, Brilhac first appears as "ecuyer tranchant" in 1449 (BN. P. orig. 518 n^o 6). By 1461 he was styled "knight, councillor and chamberlain" (BN. P. orig. 518 no. 22). His brother Guy was also ducal councillor and chamberlain in 1458 (BN. P. orig. 518 no. 17).
77. Premier Maitre d'Hotel from 1457 (BN. P. orig. 2653/30).
78. According to the chronicler Dubois, Chronique du Challant op. cit., p. 77, Jacques de Challant frequented the courts of the dukes of Orléans, Burgundy, Bourbon and Milan as well as that of Savoy, distinguishing himself in battle and at the "Pas de l'Arbre de Charlemagne". He was also a knight of the Savoyard Collar, whose 1434 statutes forbade membership of any other order. This makes his membership of the Camail dubious.

CONCLUSION: FOOTNOTES

1. S. Anglo, "The Courtier: The Renaissance and Changing Ideals" in The Courts of Europe, op. cit., p. 35.
2. D. Poirion, Le Poète et le Prince, op. cit., p. 22.
3. M. Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., p. 248.
4. Poirion, ut supra, p. 60.
5. Boase, The Troubadour Revival, op. cit., p. 7.

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